

THE
GENUINE WORKS
OF
Mr. DANIEL D'FOE,
AUTHOR OF
The True-born English-Man,
A
SATYR.

CONTAINING,
Thirty Nine Scarce and Valuable Tracts,
upon many Curious and uncommon
Subjects.

To which is added
A Complete KEY to the whole, never be-
fore Printed.

V O L. II.

L O N D O N:
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THE PREFACE.

THE same Reasons which obtain'd upon me to expose to the World some of the loose Peices I had formerly publish'd single, in a stated Collection, and a Book by themselves, hold good for my Proceeding to a Second Volume; viz. that if I do not, some Body else will do it for me.

The scandalous Liberty of the Press, which no Man more than my self covets to see rectify'd, is such, that all manner of Property seems prostrated to the Avarice of some People; and if it goes on, even Reading it self will in Time grow intollerable.

No Author is now capable of preserving the Purity of his Stile, no, nor the Native Product of his Thought to Posterity, since after the first Edition of his Work has shown it self, and perhaps sinks in a few Hands, Piratick Printers

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or Hackney Abridgers fill the World, the First with spurious and incorrect Copies, and the Latter with imperfect and absurd Representations, both in Fact, Stile, and Design.

'Tis in vain to exclaim at the Villany of these Practices, while no Law is left to punish them. The Press groans under the unhappy Burthen, and yet is in a Straight between Two Mischiefs.

1. The Tyranny of a Licenser : This in all Ages has been a Method so ill, so arbitrary, and so subjected to Bribery and Parties, that the Government has thought fit, in Justice to the Learned Part of the World, not to suffer it, since it has always been shutting up the Press to One side, and opening it to the other ; which, as Affairs are in England often changing, has, in its Turn, been oppressive to both.

2. The unbridled Liberty of invading each other's Property ; and this is the Evil the Press now cries for Help-in.

To let it go on thus, will, in Time, discourage all manner of Learning ; and Authors will never set heartily about any Thing, when Twenty Years Study shall immediately be sacrific'd to the

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the Profit of a Piratical Printer, who not only ruins the Author, but abuses the Work.

I shall trouble my self only to give some Instances of this in my own Case.

1. *As to the abusing the Copy, the True-born English-Man is a remarkable Example, by which the Author, tho' in it he eyed no Profit, had he been to enjoy the Profit of his own Labour, had gain'd above a 1000 l. a Book that besides Nine Editions of the Author, has been Twelve Times printed by other Hands; some of which have been sold for 1 d. others 2 d. and others 6 d. the Author's Edition being fairly printed, and on good Paper, and could not be sold under a Shilling. 80000 of the Small Ones have been sold in the Streets for 2 d. or at a Penny: And the Author thus abused and discourag'd had no Remedy but Patience.*

And yet he had received no Mortification at this, had his Copy been transmitted fairly to the World; but the monstrous Abuses of that Kind are hardly Credible: Twenty, Fifty, in some Places, Sixty Lines left out in a Place, others turn'd, spoil'd, and so intolerably mangled, that the Parent of the Brat could not know his own Child: This is the Thing complain'd of, and which

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I wait with Patience, and not without Hopes, to see rectified.

A certain Printer, whose Practice that way's too well known to need a Name, having frequently practised the same thing in Particulars, made the first Essay in general, and printed a Spurious and Erroneous Copy of sundry Things, which he call'd Mine, and entitled them, A Collection of the Works of the Author of The True-Born English-Man.

And tho' the Author was then embroil'd with the Government for one of the Pamphlets he collected, yet had this Man the Face to print among them the same Pamphlet, presuming so far upon the Partiality of the Publick Resentment, that he should pass with Impunity for the publishing that very thing for which the Author was to be persued with the utmost Severity.

This, as it was a full Proof, and most undeniable Testimony, that the Resentment show'd to the Author was on some other and less justifiable Account than the publishing that Book, so was it a severe Satyr on the Ignorance and Unwariness of that Ministry, who had not Eyes to see their Justice plainly exposed, and their general Proceedings banter'd by a petty Printer, in publish-
ing

The Preface.

ing bare-fac'd and in Defyance of them, that same Book for which another Man stood arraign'd, and was to be exposed.

Nor was the Insult to the Government all the Circumstance of Guilt in this Publication, but the most absurd and ridiculous Mistakes in the Copies were such as render'd it a Double Cheat: First, To the Author to whom it was a most aggravated Theft. First, as it was invading his Right: and, Secondly, as it was done while he was in Trouble, and unable to right himself.

Secondly, To the Buyers; to whom it was a most ridiculous Banter, and meer picking their Pockets, the Author having, in his first Perusal of it, detected above 350 Errors in the printing, marring the Verse, spoiling the Sense, and utterly inverting the true Intent and Meaning.

The Author having exprest himself, though in Decent Terms, against the Foulness of this Practice: The Printer having no Plea to the Barbarity of the Fact, justifies it, and says, he will do the like by any Thing an Author prints on his own Account, since Authors have no Right to employ a Printer unless they had serv'd their Times to a Bookseller.

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This ridiculous Allegation seems to me, to be as if a Man's House being on fire, he had no Right to get Help for the quenching it, of any Body but the Insurers Fire-Men.

The Instance of this Case was not worth Notice, nor the Man touch'd in it significant enough to mention, were it not at the same time to let the World see the weak Reasons given for so fatal a Mischief, and a thing so discouraging to all manner of Learning and Industry, as this exorbitant License of the Press is.

It may be enquired here how will you find a Remedy for this Mischief? How will you have the Drones, that work none, but devour the Labour and Industry of the Bees, kept out of the Hive?

It is an Unhappiness that in answering this Point, there is not Difficulty enough either to excuse the Government in letting it lye so long neglected, or to procure me any reasonable Applause for the Contrivance.

*The Road is as plain as the Table of Multiplication, and that a Conjunction of Parts makes an Addition of Quantity; two short Clauses would heal all these Evils, would prevent seditious Pamphlets, Lampoons and Invectives
against*

The Preface.

against the Government, or at least prevent their going unpunished, and preserve to every Man the Fruit of his own Labour and Industry.

First, That every Author set his Name to what he writes, and that every Printer or Publisher that prints or publishes a Book without it, shall be deemed the Author, and answerable for the Contents.

Secondly, That no Man shall print another Man's Copy; or in English, that no Printer or Bookseller shall rob another Man's House, for it really is no better, nor is it any Slander, notwithstanding the aforesaid Pretence, to call it by that Title.

I had purposed to have given a short History here of the several Tracts in this Collection, and something of the Reason of them, but I find it too long for a Preface.

The Hymn to the Pillory seems most to require it, the Reader is desired to observe this Poem was the Author's Declaration, even when in the cruel Hands of a merciless as well as unjust Ministry; that the Treatment he had from them was unjust, exorbitant, and consequently illegal.

As

The Preface.

As this Satyr or Poem, call it which you please, was wrote at the very time he was treated in that manner, it was taken for a Defiance of their illegal Proceedings, and their not thinking fit to prosecute him for it was a fair Concession of Guilt in the former Proceeding, since he was in their Power, and, as they thought, not like to come out of it.

'Tis true some faint shew of Resentment was made, and the Author, though then in Prison, never declined the Test of it, but they began to see themselves in the wrong from the very first exerting their Cruelty and Treachery upon this Author, and the Interest of the Party sensibly decayed from that very Moment of Time.

Multitudes of Occasions have since that serv'd to convince the World, that every Word of the Book he suffered for was both literally and interpretively the Sense of the Party pointed at, true in Fact, and true in Representation, and therefore he cannot but repeat the Conclusion as relating to himself, which he has seen made good even to publick Satisfaction.

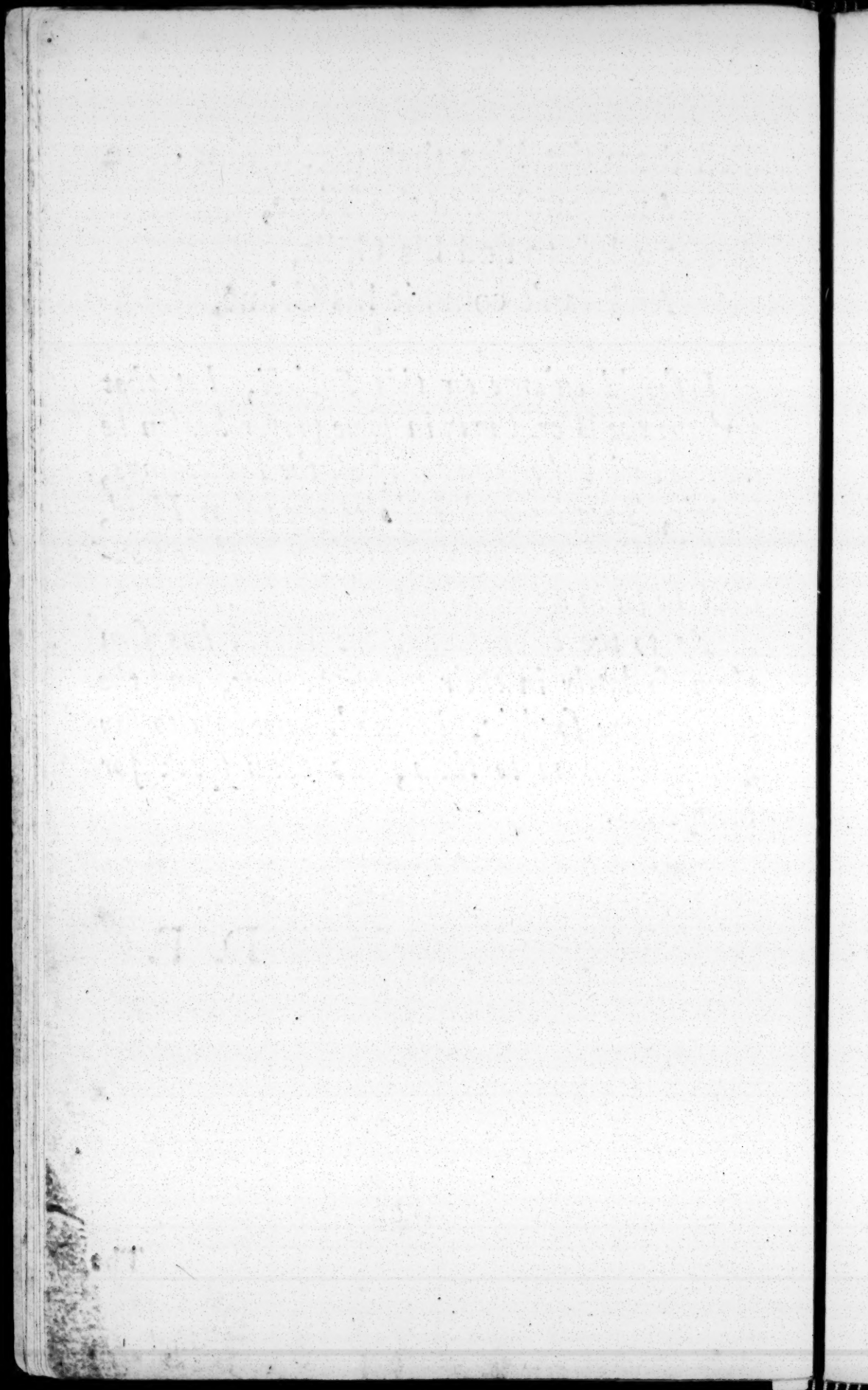
The Preface.

Tell them the Men that plac'd him there
Are Scandals to the Time,
Are at a loss to find his Guilt,
And can't commit his Crime.

I should enlarge on this Subject, but that perhaps the World may in some proper Season be troubled with the Journal of all the Proceedings, Trials, Treaties and Debates upon that Head, and the Barbarity as well as Folly of their Conduct be set in a true light to the World.

As to the other pieces, the World has seen them so lately in their proper Seasons, and the Subjects are so plain, I think 'tis needless to say any thing more to them, let them speak for themselves.

D. F.



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A

New Discovery

O F A N

Old Intreague:

A SATYR levell'd at Treachery
and Ambition.

Calculated to the Nativity of the *Rapparee Plot*, and the
Modesty of the *Jacobite Clergy*; designed by way of
Conviction to the *CXVII. Petitioners*, and for the Be-
nefit of those that study the City *Mathematicks*.

P R E F A C E

T O T H E

One Hundred and Seventeen.

THE End of Satyr ought to be exposing Falshood,
in order to Reformation. As all Warrings
are unlawful whose Aim is not Peace, so Satyrs not
thus meant are no more Satyrs, but Libels. One
great Character, and the Lines of which I liked as
well as any, is left out here, because the Person is
B attoning

The P R E F A C E.

attoning, as I am told, for the past Errors of his Practice, by a future Loyalty to the Government. As for me, if I am blamed for accounting the Petition reflected on a Branch of our new Jacobite Plot, I refer to the Letters taken with my Lord Preston, and say no more to any whose meaning was short of that, (as I hope some were) than that they may here see and be convinced whose Tools they have been made, and whose Work they have been doing.

For my self, Gentlemen, who I am, you must excuse me, you shall not know; why I wrote this, I shall answer only negatively; not for Profit, nor make none of it I assure you, and if I thought I could work on you I would bestow 117 upon you gratis, and lose so much for a Reformation; not for Applause I assure you, for I shall not so much as ask how you like it; not for Envy or Malice, for I honour your Persons, and should be glad to see you become English Men again, and, as I hinted above, should be so much a Friend to the Work of Conversion, as to leave out any other Character of a Reforming Brother.

If no Reformation follows, I must do as Providence does, let you alone to your own Wills; and as I never drew my Pen before, so expect no second Item from

Your Humble Servant, &c.

T H E

T H E INTRODUCTION.

IN Ancient Times when Men of Worth were known,
 Not by their Father's Actions, but their own,
 When Honours Sacred Pile could be come at,
 But by the Steps to Vertue dedicate ;
 No purchas'd Fame our Panegyricks sung,
 Nor were our widdowed Harps on Willows hung.
 Renown by downright hazard was attain'd,
 And Deeds of Honour only Honour gain'd.
 Expence of Blood the Noble Theme began,
 And he alone who sav'd a *Roman* call'd a Man.
 No gawdy Heir with purchas'd Honour fate
 Insulting o're the Legal Magistrate ;
 Nor glittering Knighthood strutting with Renown,
 That from the Father's well stuf't Chest begun,
 Purchas'd by high *Mandamus* made his own ;
 But well fought Victories did Fame advance,
 The old try'd *English* way of fighting *France*.
 And certain Valour certain Glory won,
 The honest Bait to Emulation.

No tatter'd *Hero's* in the Shoulder-Belt,
 In Age and Poverty their Bruises felt :
 By conquering Fortune still acknowledg'd Brave,
 Yet go Heroick Beggars to the Grave,

The INTRODUCTION.

No mangl'd *Cavalier* at Seventy Four,
With fifteen Wounds obtain'd at *Marston-Moor*;
His Scars expos'd to the unthankful Court;
The Father's Champion, and the Childrens Sport;
Whose Stranger Politicks new Systems had,
And crush'd the Carcase to exalt the Head;
And so the Basis of Deceit began:
The King put on by putting off the Man.
And that the Royal Stratagem might take,
Heroick Paths of Luxury they make:
New Ways of Happiness and Life define,
And sacrifice to their almighty Wine;
No Idol *Pagod* more Enchantments knew
Than this did first contrive, and that pursue:
Nor do the Ages since Records were known
Such Standards of refin'd Delusion own;
In close resolv'd Tyrannick ways pursuing
By different Means that one great End, our Ruin.
While Crouds of thoughtless *Mob* with changeling Praise
To their great God the King did sacrifice:

Nor hot-Brain'd Zeal to fiery *Moloch* paid
Inhuman Offerings of the Sacred Seed,
(While hapless Mothers their own Breasts deny
To bribe the God with their own Progeny)
With greater Gust than our Addressors sold
Their Liberty for Lust, for Flattery their Free-hold;
With eager Violence their Charters gave,
Bartring the shadow Freedom for the substance Slave.
And thus the new erected Fabrick throve,
And Freedom long with dying Pangs had strove,

Till

The INTRODUCTION.

Till Fate disclos'd its Restoration nigh,
The Mighty Sound dispirits Tyranny,
So darkest Clouds the Morning brightness flye.
But still the haughty Faction's Discontent,
And struggle with the Chains of Government;
Restraint from Ill is Freedom to the Wise,
And he that parts with that will Tyrannize,
Kings but by Agents act illegal Power;
No Jailor like a licens'd Prisoner.
Who first his Freedom sells, receives in Pay
License to Tyrannize some other way.

He paid for this who first indulg'd their Heat,
Whose Guile by pious Fraud they first defeat;
Men work for others, but for themselves they cheat.
For when they found
Their darling Lust Ambition he restrain'd,
That *Nero* would be *Nero* by himself,
That he engross'd the Power and *eke* the Pelf;
That all their Recompences were Delay,
Or such as Tyrants always Traytors pay;
Then their engag'd Assistance they withdrew,
And with their Lives new Fortunes they pursue.
So greedy Traitors, when their Hopes decline,
Their constant Benefactors undermine;
So Wolves, when barren Wastes afford no Prey,
Will one another brutishly destroy.

A

SATYR, &c.

OF modern *Fame* which hourly Pacquets bring,
 And Actions born of yesterday, I sing :
 No errant Knights, but errant Knaves I quote,
 With Presidents enough, and none remote.
 No Foreign Lists our Catalogue supplies,
 Some of our own the *French* have took as Prize ;
 We scorn Reprisals, Knaves of Foreign Growth
 Are Contraband :
 Besides, the Prohibition barrs the Trade,
 And none but Knaves of *English* Stamp are made ;
 And Troth the Stock is so improv'd for Sale,
 The Manufacture is not like to fail.

No Parallels from *Hebrew* Times I take,
 And leave the jingling Simily to speak ;
 Who faithful Balm to *Englands* Wounds applies,
 The Danger shows before the Remedies :
 Some Harmony with *Hebrew* Times may be,
 In some things differ, and in some agree.

The chiming Parallel runs counter more
On all the different Steps than it agreed before.

The Sacred Tribes with Heaven it self convers'd,
And thundring Sounds the dreadful Law rehears'd;
Immediate Dictates their Records begun,
Carried by Voice and constant Vision on;
Human Debates obey'd the Heavenly Mode,
And all their Statutes were the Laws of God;
Long Names and *Pedigrees* cou'd only tell
The Hero was the Seed of *Israel*:
For different Tribes no different Honour gave,
But only mark'd the *Hebrew* from the Slave;
By *Jus Divinum* of the Heavenly Call
The Son of *Jesse*, not the Son of *Saul*
The Regal Dignity at *Hebron* took,
And all the Tribes the Royal Line forsook.
The Sacred Oil was now as loud a Call
As when their Teams were threaten'd by King *Saul*:
No *Levite* durst in canting Phrase dissent,
Nor levy War with dint of Argument:
Nor did with *David* any Priest abide
Whose dormant Faith attended for the strong'st side:
Even *Samuel* a due Obedience paid
Unto the Monarch he himself had made;
Proportion'd Grandure for himself declin'd
T'his proper Work the Ark, and Sacrifice confin'd:
No Titles rais'd, nor haughty Palace fram'd,
But still was poor, and still was *Samuel* nam'd;
The Altar serv'd, a linnen Ephod wore,
Was still as meek and humble as before;

Retir'd from Court, in Reverend Vests array'd,
 To *Israel's* God, for *Israel's* King he pray'd:
 Had but the Sacred Tribe his Steps pursu'd,
 What Years of Peace to *Israel* had ensu'd?
 How had our flour'ishing Isle glad Hours enjoy'd,
 For calmer Joys, and nobler Actions made?
 While their dark Councils now embroil the State,
 Our Feuds encrease, and Vengeance antedate;
 And their unpraëtis'd Hands exempt from War
 All the vast Profits of Confusion share.
 Fatal their Skill, too undiscern'd the Fraud,
 While passive Zealots their Harangues applaud;
 Their Dictates swallow, and at *Jehu's* Rate
 Swiftly drive on with these *black Guards* of State;
 A Nameless Hydra crow'd with *Janus* Face,
 That whisper civil Feuds, and cry for Peace.
 Domestick Heroes, whose Dragooning Hands
 Seek out no foreign Wars, while they can plunder Friends.

Inspire me Jove, with Thunder arm my Pen,
 To lash the Manners, and describe the Men.
 How their lov'd Tyrant they at first ador'd,
 and hugg'd the *Romish* Fopperies he restor'd;
 How their reciprocal Contrivance met,
 And *Mighty Injury* upheld the State:
 How that loud ecchoing Theatre the Church
 Burlesque their God, and Sacred Themes debauch,
 Loud Thanks return for th' Monster they had made;
 A *Prot'stant* Body with a *Popish* Head:
 With humble Pray'rs that Christ would now permit
 That *Antichrist* should take his Sacred Seat;

The

The Body govern, and the Members keep,
So Wolves protect the unarm'd and easie Sheep.

Their *loud Addresses* sanctifie the Fraud,
And his *Almighty Violence* applaud :
Prompt him to Mischiefs with uplifted Note,
As Right and Wrong had been their own by Vote.
Vow'd that if ever he his Fate should try
With *Life and Fortune* they would all stand by,
So afterwards they did at *Salisbury* :

Nor murmur'd they until dispensing Art
Their well-belov'd Ambition had cut short :
But early * *Thanks* for Standing Armies gave, * The Car-
And shouted home the glorious Charter *Slave* : tist's Ad-
With Mushrome Joy themselves Themselves deceiv'd, drefs.
And thank their God for what they ne're-† believ'd † Pr. of
Triumphant Flames in Hypocritick Scorn Wales.
A second time do *London's* * Trophies burn, * Fire-
While injur'd Heaven does flash for flash return. Works.

Yet these the same who when his Fame decreas'd,
And all his borrow'd Glories overcast;
Are found Caballing, and in short Debate,
Quitting his Fortunes to avoid his Fate.

Nassovian Justice Tyranny suppress,
The wearied Land for some few days had rest ;
A few they were indeed, and very few,
Till Discontents our former Fends renew ;
And did King *Jesur* Reign they'd murmur too.
Some smaller Aids to our new Joys they lent,
And feign'd to smile when they could not prevent ;
But bauk'd of Lawless Power as once to Reign,
At their own *awkward* Jest they first repine ;

At Government with passive Fury rail,
 And their forsaken *Idol* now bewail:
 His hopeful Voyage to *Irish* Boggs they sing,
 And his Almighty Thousands hither bring:
 From Month to Month his numerous Hosts they show,
 How oft has *England* been invaded so!
 Of his great Deeds they threaten'd, and of their own,
 And talk'd of Fights, but always talk'd at Home.

So Great *Duras* the Royal Fortrefs Mann'd,
 How oft he swore, how oft the Prince he Damn'd:
 With many a battering Curse, and many a Gun;
 Still as he run he curst, and as he curst he run.
 His willing Bands with wondrous Courage broke,
 Nor fought he for his Monarchs Cause a stroke;
 But fled e're yet the distant Troops appear,
 And had his Guilt been less so had his Fear.

And now for Twins in Craft, observe the Men
 Who early for the Prince's Cause began:
 The *Poffe* rais'd, and with united Bands
 In Fraud and in Ambition too shook Hands;
 For Hostages their Noble Pledges gave,
 There needs no Arts to keep him true that's brave;
 Once with our Hate successfully they strove,
 Screen'd by their Vices and their Master's Love;
 Blotted by Pride, as they had oft been told,
 By their own Brass, and by the Kingdoms Gold:
 Their early Dictates of Tyrannick Sway,
 When we the King, the King did them obey:
 They still maintain, nor can they soon forget
 To crush the Subject and embroil the State;

New Fears of unborn Factions do infuse,
 And threadbare Cries of *Forty One* renews.
 Accustom'd to be jealous even of Light,
 When formidable Nothings did affright;
 Vouch that the Votes that *William's* Scepter gave
 Made him a King a Commonwealth to have.
 That those are fittest to direct his Rule
 Who meant him that unthinking thing a Tool;
 Unfetter'd at his Hazard, not their own,
 Would pay the *Switzer* off, and reign alone:
 And now in closest Councils they preside,
 With Friend and Foe an equal Spoil divide:
 With double Aspect seek their single Ends,
 Aiding King *William* with King *James* his Friends;
 To neither true, but hold the Poise at Home,
 That both may humble Clients be to great King *Tom*.

And now the Church that Sacred Vizer's on,
 And *Rome* begins to pull down *Babylon*:
 Dragooning's ceas'd, and Passive Laws declare,
 They wait to see the Issue of the War.
 Too well the subtil Statesman knew the Tribe,
 To tamper till he found the Sovereign Bribe,
 Too well he knew they could not long withstand *Sherlock*
 A trifling Oath.

De Facto now at one Distinction gain'd
 The Mil'tant Thousands of the Sacred Train,
 Who long with starving Hopes withstood in vain.
 Four Golden Candlesticks compose the Van, ^{4 Non-juring}
 With all their Persecution glories on. ^{Bishops.}

The same that in the fiery Furnace trod
For Sons o'th' Church are all the Sons of God.

A fifth nor Clergy, nor the Laity own,
Was Soldier, Bishop, Lord, and Puritan. Bish. London.
Blue Cloak, or Cassock, Troop, or Convocation,
And thus he *tryes his Skill* upon the Nation.
In grand Procession thus he views the Lists,
His Squadron full four Hundred Booted Priests;
The black Brigade thus for their Church appear'd,
And horrid Cries for *Abdy, Harvy*, rear'd:
With Notions scar'd, and their own Guilt subdued,
So once before they fled when none pursued;
But when the Terror of the Church begun,
And Citts in Troops of *Blew-Coat-Whiggs* came on,
The Martial Zealot in his Cope uprears
To Royal Petticoats his Christian Prayers;
And for disbanding Grace made his Orisons,
Which, like his Lordship's Repartees, were wise ones.

One purchas'd Priest, whose Pay did not miscarry,
A very Priest, for very Mercenary;
Conscious of his too tottering Faith, and knew
That if he took but one, should perjure two;
In Conscience said he'd never break them both,
And swore by God he would not take the Oath.

But now the gawdy Nicety's in vain,
De Facto Swearers with *de jure* joyn.
Sworn and unsworn one common Cause promote,
And private Feuds for publick Good forgot;

While

While Doctor *Sherlock* now the Church harangu'd,
 With that same Topick *Cook* had try'd and hang'd.
 The honest *Levites*, who are poor and few,
 As they may well be poor who dare be true ;
 With Words they wheedle some, with Gold as many,
 For Priests were always to be bought for Money.

Room for a Regiment of Bigott Citts,
 Who lately lost, and lately found their Wits ;
 By wondrous Fate with * forfeit Favours grac'd, { * I don't
 By Mighty T — m's Almighty Magick plac'd : { mean the
 View them in Arms when our invaded Coast { Lieute-
 Some glittering Hopes propos'd that all was lost, { nancy.
 How their advanc'd Battallions did appear
 To fight the Men appointed to come here.

Sir *William* that in Martial Robes did shine,
 And Reason good indeed, began the Line ;
 With many a Rank of Tory Buff and Feather,
 That's now restor'd, and gone the Lord knows whither ;
 To keep the Peace Precedencies did grant,
 And here, (if not at Home) he's Commandant ;
 Tho' might he choose Commands, 'twould be agen
 Ten Thousand Guinea's, not Ten Thousand Men :
 Ah ! *Tom Papillion*, 'twas a slippery Trick
 To bilk the Mayor, and then to *Holland* sneak :
 See now the Martial Magistrate from far,
 With all his dreadful Equipage of War ;
 Three equal *Halves* compose his stately Meen,
 Half Lord, half Soldier, half a Gentleman ;
 And three as equal Dividends make out
 The gawdy Stiles of his Pedantick Rout.

True

True City Champions Tumults to appease,
 And wish'd for Conventicling Trophies raise;
 As Taylors, Porters, Prentices, become
 Half drunk, half sober, and a half run home.

Sir *Peter* next had Primitive Command,
 Compleatly fix'd, had but his Boots come on,
 A Campaign *Phys*, and as it came to pass,
 As much a Soldier, and as much an Ass:
 In different Stiles his numerous Titles ran,
 Was Hangman, Colonel, and Chamberlain;
 Synonymous to that miraculous Store,
 Was very Rich, and also very Poor.
 In later Times he learn'd to domineer,
 And now most accurately swaggers here;
 His Favourites now his dear bought Trophies sing,
 And he sues for speaking Treason like a King;
 Enrich'd with lusty Verdict from the * Assize,
 Who at two Marks his over-valued Honour prize.

*Suing
Bella-
my for
 words,
 & had
 two
 Marks
 Dama-
 ges.

A third, and fourth, to fill the Cavalcade,
 With match'd Battallions meet on the Parade;
 For equal Falshood equal Fate besel,
 This dub'd a Knight, and that a Colonel.
 A fifth, and sixth, with many a subaltern,
 Went out with Fools, and just as wise return.
 But his Condition justly we condole,
 For Pity is a Tribute to a Fool;
 Who first dismounted in the hot Dispute,
 Went out on Horseback, and came home on Foot;
 The unhappy * Shot distinguish'd to a Jest,
 Pick'd out the Animal, and spar'd the Beast:

Tho'

* A Trooper shot the Major's Horse as they march'd thro the *Park*.

Tho' some affirm the Truth did not appear
 Till he had first be——t himself for Fear ;
 Nor with the Fright did his Misfortune end,
 But first his Brother Beast condol'd, and next his Friend ;
 So once the Woodman to the Man of God,
 When the lost Ax sunk in the neighbouring Flood,
 Alas 'twas borrowed.

And thus the Knights with City Discipline
 March'd to *High-Park* indeed to see the Queen;
 So once the *French* with Forty Thousand Men
 Went up the Hill, and so came down agen ;
 So once King *James* his Squadrons did delude-a,
 By Storming *Hounslow-Heath* instead of *Buda* :
 Had you the Baggage of the Host but view'd,
 Besides the running Campers that pursu'd ;
 Had you beheld the Stores, the Magazine,
 The Bread, the Cheese, the Bottles, and the Wine,
 You would have swore't had been a *Scotch* Campaign ;
 That barren Highlands their Fatigues should know,
 Where neither they could reap, nor others sow :
 Or that *Montross's* Marches they should take,
 With fifty days Provision at his Back.
 And now the Queen advances to the View,
 Lord ! how the ready Troops in order shew,
 No more a Figure, their disorder'd Files,
 But one great Throng the well fix'd Line compiles ;
 To let the Queen their Annual Postures know
 At their more regular Figure, *Lord-Mayors-Show*.
 And now the Royal Chariot's shouted home
 By that Almighty Monster Captain *Tom*,

Whose

Whose ecchoing Shouts when she no more can hear,
 Their Pot-gun Volleys charge Her Royal Ear;
 Whose regular Noise, had she not known how tame,
 How unprepar'd, and how resolv'd they came;
 Some dreadful scrambling Combate did present,
 'Alike confus'd, tho' different in event;
 And who knows what that day might have produc'd,
 By Wine and Martial Gallantry seduc'd;
 Had not the wiser Sex their Votes deny'd,
 As to the *Bag of Bullets* by the side.
 Wisely the advent'rous Wife her presence gave,
 To calm with Frowns the Fop she came to save;
 A Whip's a proper Weapon for a Slave;
 So once *Sclavonian* Masters did attack,
 When conquering Slaves came in Rebellion back.

And thus the Royal Muster did conclude,
 And th' Host dissolv'd into a Multitude;
 Meer *Mob* the Matter, Army was the Form,
 So Bees go out a Troop, come back a Swarm.
 So Vapours well compos'd may represent
 Ships, Armies, Battels, in the Firmament,
 'Till stedd' Eyes the Exhalation solves,
 And all to its first Matter Cloud dissolves.

Mean while the Martial Terrors of the Field
 The threaten'd Whiggs with just Disdain beheld,
 Th' unweildy Monster they at once defie,
 And in their Monarch's Cares do Peace enjoy;
 Their joyful Aids to his Support lay down,
 And thankfully his happy Influence own;

Their

Their hearty Thousands his Exchequer knows,
 And ready Loan their press'd Obedience shows;
 No false Harangues of late addressing Age,
 But thus their *Lives* and *Fortunes* they engage;
 An active Loyalty their Princes see,
 To purpose shown, and in Extremity:
 Words are an empty Loyalty at best,
 And cheaply paid, Occasion is the Test;
 So found too late their Abdicated *James*,
 And so our Naval Management proclaims.
 Nor do we Laurels to his Temples bring,
 Or conquering *William's* dear bought Triumphs sing
 With greater Joy, than with Regret we see
 His Cause (for his is ours) betray'd at Sea:
 So while th' accursed thing i'th' Camp remain'd,
 Were *Israel's* Tents with *Israel's* Slaughters stain'd.
 Not so the Hero's our Design displays,
 Whose awkward Grin their treacherous Joy betrays.

Ungrateful Smiles their envious Hopes declare,
 And stile the Invasion a familiar War.
 Their horrid Jests on *English* Fears they make,
 And wild Delights in hop'd Revenge they take:
 Boast of our Losses with exalted Voice,
 And at their Countries Infamy rejoyce.
 With uncouth Joy the well known Story told,
 How an Invasion's bought, and *England* sold;
 And how exact the deep Intreague is laid,
 The *Dutch* be sacrific'd, and we betray'd.

'Twas like a Priest, when of the Sacred Tribe,
 One in his bloated Hopes their Plots describe:

Our Plot! said he, and paus'd, to let you know
 To whom your Hopes, to whom your Thanks you owe,
 Is so deep, so well contriv'd, such Actors in't,
 The Devil perhaps may know't, but can't prevent.
 But when the Mob the Reverend Author took,
 How like his * Guide did passive *Clerus* look; * *Roger* when
 How more confus'd, if Impudence can blush, took and car-
 When search'd for boasted Plots! ried to *Guild-*
Hall.

The Priest, as Priests are wont, deceiv'd the Throng,
 And look'd for * Treason's prov'd a bawdy Song, * A Par-
 And thus the *Gallick Victories* they declar'd, son ta-
 Even before the hastening Fact appear'd: ken at
 Boasting their Shame, and hugg'd themselves to find *Grave's*
 Their *Israel*, their own *Israel* flee before the *Philistine*: *Coffee-*
 Just then when sinking Horror did surround, *House.*
 And present Fears our absent Hopes confound;
 The wondrous Trump his * Conquest sounded o're, * *Boyne.*
 So once his Aspect sav'd the Land before.
 Moments of Time the vast Occasion it,
 To those surprizing, and to these compleat:
 Had the great Deed, exactly tim'd by Fate,
 Oné weighty Juncture slipt, 't had come too late;
 Had he not fought, or had it not been then,
 Tho' he had Conquer'd, it had been in vain.
 So Mighty *Nassau*, so did Heaven contrive
 That thy great Hand should twice the Nation save.

See now the *Hydra-Faction* of the Town
 Cry *hail*, and bend with aukward *Couchees* to the Throne;
 The Cause disown, and cowardly *Nero* curse,
 Not that he did no better, but no worse:

And

And were they true to their adopted Cause,
 There's far more danger in their Tongues than Claws.
 For now with fatal Industry they drive,
 And unto one past Plot two more contrive ;
 Nor grudge to perish in the Storm they raise,
 So their last Fall their Country but betrays :
 So swift are Men to desperate Ills design'd,
 To Ill spontaneous, and in Good confin'd.
 A Proof the evil Principle is first,
 And Guilt has all the Power to Will engross'd.

View next the last Fatigue of new-born Hope,
 To sink their Fears, and empty Comforts prop,
 Exactly laid, but * *God knows how let drop.*

* The
 Words of
 the Letter
 to K. James
 taken with
 Lord Preston

In suppliant Postures now to Court they go,
 And they who once *abhorr'd*, petition now.
 Nor are the Rout of less suppos'd Esteem,
 Than Sixscore representing Persons seem :
 Captains of Thousands, mighty Men of Valour,
 From silly *Will*, to Captain *Tom the Taylor* ;
 In Mood and Figure to the House made way,
 To beg their Prentices a Holiday.
 And made a most unconscionable Prayer,
 That they might have no Aldermen, nor Mayor :
 But that the City, as in ancient *Troy*,
 One general Revel-Jubilee might enjoy ;
 That *Bedlam*, *Newgate*, *Counters*, and *Bridewell* ;
 Might with the *Common-C*——il now rebel ;
 That *Tower Ditches* might exclude the *Thames*,
 And Royal *Nassau* truckle to King *James* :

And that your poor Petitioners may be eas'd,
 And have a Mayor, or no Mayor, as they pleas'd ;
 Remonstrating that what they did restore
 Had more restrain'd them than they were before ;
 'Twas not their loathsome Priviledges they fought,
 But freedom to do ill.

Give them their ancient Priviledges agen,
 When they could plunder and destroy like Men :
 The luscious Garlick of the former Reigns,
 and pin not Freemen up with Posts and Chains :
 When threatning Bastions at the *Tower* begun,
 And *Guild-Hall* Gate became a Garrison.
 When Charters were the Test, and Kings cou'd know
 What they durst ask, the Subject durst bestow :
 When trusty Patriots bought Mechanick Sway,
 Begg'd for illegal Orders to obey,
 And Compliment their Liberties away ;
 Whose * swifter Grant his Cravings did defeat,
 And Tyranny it self anticipate.

}
 * *Pickering*
 thatbegg'd
 to have his
 Companys
 Chart r
 takenaway
 and deli-
 vered it
 with his
 own Hand.

A new Sir *Will.* this second March begun,
 And brought his *Blunderbuss*, but left his Gun.
 'Twas thought the K. bestow'd his Spurs in spight,
 And spoil'd a Captain to compose a Knight ;
 In Whigg-Plot days have you not seen the *Beau*
 With Martial Bagpipe to the Main Guard go ;
 With many a Blunderbuss, and Musquetoen,
 Compleatly arm'd, with Cane, and Pantaloon :
 Equipp'd with his Hereditary Pride,
 And his Inheritance of Brains beside :
 Nature has wisely blazon'd on his Face
 The Eschutcheon of his Family, an Ass :

From

From Ear to Ear the Mantling does extend,
Crested to show the Goat's the Asses Friend;
 Accustom'd to Command, he rais'd in pity
 This Independant Troop to serve the City:
 And wisely does remonstrate to the House
 How much his Zeal before his Knowledge goes;
 And how he had improv'd his Time at School,
 Was now a well accomplish'd Captain Fool,
 A weighty Blockhead, with an empty Scull.

Next him *Sir Ralph*, in his due order stood,
 A very *Ralph*, a very piece of Wood:
 By Art they say his Timber does excel,
 An artificial Stroke may polish Hell:
 Some hid Accomplishments he may contain,
 That do for Speculation still remain;
 Or to be known, when th' Art to understand,
 Without the drudgery of speaking's gain'd,
 At present if we judge by what is known,
 As to the species of a Fool, he's one.

Alas *Tom Durfey* thou hast fallen short,
 And now * *Dragestus* shall excuse thee for't,
 For he had else come next to make us sport;
 With ruby Face, and old abhorring Nose,
 So Copper mix'd with Stone does Brass compose.

} * *New Rap-
 pances, pag.
 6.*

Next Cousin *Will*, with *wither'd* Face and Foot,
 In his addressing Slippers hobbl'd to't,
 With awkward *Phys*, and a petitioning Band,
 Recants abhorring now, to heal the Land:
 With many a Sigh the Danger represents,
 And now like *Pen*, the Brother Statesman cants;

Had he a linnen Ephod from the Stall,
 On's Head a *neighbouring Sign*, he'd be a Cardinal:
 Were I King *James* I'de send for him to *France*,
 And to a real *Hat* the Tool advance.
 Who knows when once become *His Eminence*,
 He may be fitter for an * *Evidence*.
 Besides some change attends him that he knows,
 Inform'd by his prognosticating Toes.

*HisBlun-
 der at the
 Barr of the
 House.

Now if you'd hear some Loyal City Farce,
 Hear *Bed*———*d*, hee'l bid you kifs his Ar——
 Nor Sherriffs, nor Mayor, nor Common Halls excus'd,
 But his Posteriors are alike expos'd:
 Nay, if *Bow* Bells for Whiggish Joys are rung,
 The jangling Metal must salute his Bung;
 The Parliament he hopes will hear him now,
 If not his common Compliment they know.

Some of the sort have Crimes are Capital,
 On whom their Brothers Blood for Vengeance call;
 Tender of these, we say to *Rouse* and *Brough*,
Eternity is Punishment enough.
 Take an authentick Term for your Condition,
 'Twas *Murther* stil'd by th' House you now petition:
 Petition Heaven, (if it be not too late)
 And tempt no more inevitable Fate:
 But note, that they do Penitence pretend,
 Who strive to extenuate, and not amend.

And here some Tears does injur'd *Cornish* call,
 Whom weeping Heaven does annually bewail,
 And Vengeance *swift as Fate* upon his Murtherers entail;
 Whose

Whose Death will never be forgot, forgiven
On Earth by Man, or unreveng'd by Heaven:
An innocent Man by your unrighteous Breath,
As a Man before the Wicked fell.——

To paint the single Character of all
Would swell the Satyr to a Chronicle:
As whipping *Langham*, and his Brother *Kent*,
With pious *Brerewood*, Doctor Small-Beer's Saint,
And some that sacrificed Mistress *Gaunt*;
With one of *Cornishes*, (that yet *survives*)
And near an Hundred more *Diminutives*:
One general Character the List may own,
The *Hackney Furors* of the drooping Town;
The Inquisitors of late Tyrannick Reign,
Who now *petition* for Power to ride again.

How vast had been the List, had not the Band
To Senate Members only been confin'd:
Thus Sir *J* —— *Moor* they left, and that was pity,
Who, so long been the *Genius* of the City:
Well might the King to his Eschutcheon add
The *Rampant* * *Lion*, who such roaring made,
And eat up all the Privileges we had:
And some Assistants that the Fury fed
Were now become of the petitioned.
Not thence the slacker handed to put on,
The labour'd Purchase of Confusion:
For if past Hazards are a proper Test,
Sir * *Thomas* shares a Faith above mistrust:
Who frigidated by distemper'd *Hams*,
His fiery Zeal for Slavery proclaims;

* K. Charles
added to his
Schutcheon
the *Lyon*
Rampant.

* *Vernon*

With gouty Corps, in Mathematick Chair,
To Charter giving Votes did heartily repair.

Sir Sy———*n Lewis* held up both his Paws,
To think that he who smarted for the Cause,
Should now be robb'd of his delight, Applause;
And by his *quondam* Honours loudly swore,
Tho' jilted oft, was never thus before;
Nothing but Time can lay the Fermentation,
Or make his VVorship fit for Conversation.
Not *Celia's* Charms, not *Clora's* tender Hours,
But raves in Love, and frets in his Amours.

Sir W———*m W———ms* first the Cause espous'd,
And all his sputtering Eloquence he rous'd;
Foaming with learned Fury, you'd ha' thought
He came to spew them in he once spew'd out.
Well hir'd to be the Churches Champion,
And thus for *Bishops Trial* does attone.
For Sovereign Fee with eager Note does prate,
No Cause so bad but has an Advocate.

And to make up the Show with Men of Sense
Comes *Common Sergeant* for an *Evidence*;
With *We's*, and *They's*, with *Us's*, and *Suppose's*
Tells how in *Common-Hall* he counted Noses:
Tells you how he himself with City Power,
Decently waited on by Sheriffs, and *Mayor*,
Does *Propria Persona* first disclose,
And tell the People who it is they chose.
With meagre Face, and true Mechanick Pride,
So will th' exalted Beggar always ride.

The

The CONCLUSION.

Great *Nassau* from his envied Throne look'd down,
And view'd their busie Malice with a Frown.

Their impotent Fury view'd with just Disdain,

And ask'd if he had sav'd them all in vain?

Their weak Intreagues with due Contempt he saw,

And generously restrain'd the Scourge of Law.

His conquering Mercy did his Justice stay,

And at his Peril let them disobey :

Restraints to his own injur'd Passions gave,

Their Folly pitied, and their Guilt forgave.

A Proof he strove for their meer Liberty,

Had *Fought* to save, and *Conquer'd* to set free ;

Divinely Good, their treacherous Arts he bore,

Was still as kind, and gentle as before :

Arm'd them as Friends, to fortifie his Throne,

And smil'd until they thought he durst not frown.

But when their Insolence his Arm defy'd,

And wou'd again their baffled Cause have try'd,

And he must now destroy or be destroy'd ;

Lets flie at once his Vengeance to devour,

And gives a taste of his mistaken Power :

Takes care that they shall never more rebel,

And with just Thunder drives them down to Hell.

" So *Jove* when Earth-born *Titan's* did aspire,

" Pile Hill on Hill, and higher yet came and higher,

" Till

"Till they almost had scal'd Heavens glittering Wall,
 "And either they, or he himself must fall,
 "Unrein'd his Vengeance, let his Thunders flie,
 "And forked Lightnings sally round the Skie;
 "The black *Abyss* is cover'd with their Spoils,
 "They float on *Chaos*, like enchanted Isles;
 "Transfix'd with angry Bolts, from surge to surge they go,
 "Despair and raving wander in Eternal Woe:
 "May all thine Enemies, *Great Nassau*, perish so.

More

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Besides, if they will have me be of that Party, I think I ought rather to have fix'd on my own Party than not, First, That no Man might say I was partial and unfair, and Secondly, That those I had most Kindness for might reform first, which is the best thing I could wish for them.

Well, Gentlemen, if these are my Faults, you have paid me home for them; and now 'tis my Turn again, but I shall treat you with some different Candor from what I receiv'd.

I do own that I shall never see a notorious scandalous Magistrate, a whoring drunken Clergyman, a lewd debauch'd Justice of the Peace, a publick blaspheming Atheist, but I shall be apt to have a sling at him my way; but you have done me this good that I shall always be a publick Penitent for my own Miscarriages, if it be only in meer Pride not to be liable to you Recrimination.

And I recommend my Practice to all my Friends, if they would be Satyr free,

Confession will anticipate Reproach,
He that reviles us then reviles too much.
All Satyr ceases when the Men repent,
'Tis Cruelty to lash the Penitent.

And yet, Gentlemen, I desire not to be mistaken, for as I will never hide my Infirmities, so I am not oblig'd to confess Sins I never committed; and therefore speaking to the vicious, with whom I have been so free, I must say, I was not in their Debt this Acknowledgment; for tho' I have been a Man of Misfortunes, and one of the greatest has been to be wrongfully accus'd, yet I have the Comfort of this Negative, if negative Vertues can be any Comfort, That I have not been a Man of Vice, and whatever Malice may have the ill Nature to suggest, I venture to say without Pride no Man can charge me with it.

*I forbear to say any thing farther than Thankfulness to restraining Goodness extorts, for I count a Man no proper Advocate for himself: But if I must act the Pharisee a little, I must begin thus; God, I thank thee, I am not a Drunkard, or a Swearer, or a Whore-master, or a busie-body, or idle, or revengeful, &c. and tho this be true, and I challenge all the
World*

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World to prove the contrary, yet I must own I see small Satisfaction in all the possible Negatives of common Vertue; for tho' I have not been guilty of any of these Vices, nor of many more, I have nothing to infer from thence but Te Deum Laudamus.

But after all, how can it be true that I have been too free with the Characters, when here are a sort of People almost ready to go together by the Ears about the Characters; if there be a drunken Justice, all Men are fond of being thought the Man, the Lawyers have named me Twenty Men for my Clitus, and abundance more for Fletumacy, and if I have singl'd out but one of a sort, where is the Injury to any Body? since if they who are nam'd don't like it, here is so many People are fond of taking it up in their stead.

However, it seems to be a Disparagement to the Satyr to want so direct a Hint at the Person nam'd, as if the Character was not a sufficient Description of the Party, and this argued a deficiency of Wit in the Performance.

In order therefore to please every Body, if that impossible thing be likely, I have plac'd the few Characters in this Book without any true References, declaring before hand that the Letters signifie no Body, and the Consequences of this are two.

First, If any Person has reason to think he is the Man pointed out in any particular, he is at liberty to disown the Character, and by his future Reformation to shew that it could not be he.

Secondly, Those that are fond of a rank Character need not fall out who was meant by the Author, but as many as find their likeness in the Picture may call it their own, and fill up the Blanks with their Names if they please.

They who expect I should say any thing of my own Matters relating to The shortest Way, will be mistaken, this is no part of the Design, nor hath the Book any thing to do with it; so far as that Book has displeas'd the Government, I have surrendered at Discretion, and having voluntarily committed myself to the Publick Clemency, have no more to say but this, It is the Queen, let Her Majesty do what seems good in Her Eyes.

More Reformation,

A SATYR upon HIMSELF.

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THE World has been pleas'd to manage me so severely of late, that if ever I presume to visit them in Print again, I must at the same time make a tedious Apology, and so descend to what I have always had an Aversion to, I mean the Imper-tinence of a long Preface.

'Tis hard, that when by a Man's Writing 'tis plain enough what he means, yet a poor Author should be forc'd to trouble the World with a long Account of what he does not mean too.

I confess, according to the Custom of the Times, he that writes any thing which may be misunderstood, ought to expect to be misunderstood, and ought to give People leave to believe he meant ill, tho' the Error is in their own Eyesight, and the Reason is, because he that knew the Defect of Custom ought to have fenc'd against it: As when a Man talks softly to a deaf Man, he ought to expect the Man should think he Curses when he Complements, and that if he smiles at a Story, he laughs at him he tells it to, and he cannot blame the Man neither, because he might have spoke plainer.

This is the Case with respect to those Dissenters, who are of the Opinion, That a certain Book, which, 'tis too true for me was of my writing, was writ with a Design to have all the Dissenters hang'd, banish'd, or destroy'd, and that the Gallows and the Gallies should be the Penalty of going to a Conventicle,

forge-

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forgetting that at the same time I must design to have my Father, my Wife, six innocent Children, and my self, put into the same Condition.

All the Fault I can find in my self as to these People is, that when I had drawn the Picture, I did not, like the Dutch Man, with his Man and Bear, write under them, This is the Man, and This is the Bear, lest the People should mistake me.

I confess I did not foresee an Occasion for this, and having in a Compliment to their Judgments shunn'd so sharp a Reflection upon their Senses, I have left them at Liberty to treat me like one that put a Value upon their Penetration at the Expence of my own.

I have no Occasion further to mention that unhappy Book than on these Accounts, for 'tis plain all other Parties understand it, and take it as it was meant, and I am like to find it so.

The Liberty the World has taken with my Character in this time of my Retreat has been the Occasion of this Book.

'Tis hard, that when a Man under the Publick Resentment was oblig'd to keep out of the way, the whole World should fly at him, like a Dog with a Broom at his Tail, reckon up all the Faults of his Life, and Ten Thousand more than ever he committed, to be the common places of their general Discourse, taking the Advantage of his Absence, when he was not able to answer for himself.

Nay, so extravagant was the whole World, that one had Wit little enough, as well as Manners, to challenge me in Print, when he knew at the same time there was a Reward of Fifty Pounds to be given to him that would discover where I was.

This was such a Satyr upon all the rest, that really instead of fighting that Gentleman I would thank him, if I knew who he was, as a Person that was willing to shew himself a Coxcomb, that other People might see their own Pictures.

England is particularly famous for the most generous way of Fighting in the World, I mean as to the common Peoples private Quarrels, while the Dutch mangle one another with Knives, the Scotch Highlanders knock one anothers Brains out with Pole-Axes, the Irish stab with their Skeins, and Spaniards with their Daggers; the English Men fairly Box it out, and in this way of Fighting the Rabble stand by to see fair Play,

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Play, as they call it, which is, that when a Man is down 'tis counted foul Play, and the Trick of a Coward, to strike him, but let him rise, and then have at him.

Gentlemen, it had been but kind to have given me fair Play, and not fall all upon me when I was down; let me get up again, if I can, for I much doubt it, and then let us see whose Face is blackest, and welcome.

In this universal Humour of Mobbing me some Gentlemen have descended very much beneath their own Characters, as well as Honesty, to the Disgrace of good Manners, and the Scandal of their Education. If I was not really very angry with them I should give them some room in this Book, but I scorn to make a Satyr the Method of shewing my private Resentment.

If I would resent all the scoundrel Usage I have met with, and some of it from my Friends, I must certainly prepare to die with my Shooes on, and therefore I chuse to let it pass, as that which is really more Shame to the Author of Scandal than to me.

But that the World may see I am not one of those that practise what I reprove, I began this Satyr with owning in my self those Sins and Misfortunes which I am no more exempted from than other Men; and as I am far from pretending to be free from Human Frailties, but forwarder to confess any of the Errors of my Life than any Man can be to accuse me, I think my self in a better way to Reformation than those who excuse their own Faults by reckoning up mine.

Some that have heard me complain of this hard Usage have told me, there is something of a Retaliation of Providence in it, for my being so very free with the Characters of other Men in a late Satyr call'd, The Reformation of Manners.

To this I answer,

First, In that Satyr, or any other I ever wrote, I have always carefully avoided lashing any Man's private Infirmities, as being too sensible of my own; but if I have singled out any Men by Characters, it has either been such as pretending to reform others, and execute the Laws against Vice, have been the great Examples and Encouragers of it in their own Example and Practice.

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Or such as have been trusted with the executive Power of Justice, and having been call'd upon by the Laws to reform us, have been a publick Reproach to the Magistracy of this Nation, and ought to be punish'd by the Laws they have been protected by.

Secondly, I have never made any Man's Disasters and Misfortunes the Subject of my Satyr.

I never reproach'd any Man for having his House burnt, or his Ships cast away, or his Family ruin'd; I never lampoon'd a Man because he could not pay his Debts, or for his being a Cuckold.

Thirdly, I never reproach'd any Man for his Opinion in Religion, or us'd him the worse for differing in Judgment from me.

Indeed, if I meet with a profess'd Atheist, that after God has given him Life and a Being, denies to own the being of him that made him; if I meet with a Clergy-man that points the way to Heaven to other People, but tells them 'tis not worth while for him to go that way himself, a Fellow that Preaches because he's paid for it, and bids his Hearers get them to Heaven and be Damn'd to 'em, in such Cases I think I have no Bounds set me.

If therefore the scandalous Treatment I have received is just upon me for abusing others, I must ask such, Who is the Man? Where is the Character I have given that is not just? And where's the Retaliation of Providence that these Men entitle themselves to in loading me with Falsities and Lies, as a just Punishment for my saying the Truth?

But a P---x on him, said a certain sober Gentleman, that did not use to have such Words in his Mouth, he is a Whigg, and what need he have meddl'd with his own Party? could not he have left them out, there were Characters enough o' r'other side.

Why really, Gentlemen, I must own I know no Whigg or Tory in Vice; the Vicious and the Vertuous are the only two Parties I had to do with; if a vicious, lewd, debauch'd Magistrate happen'd to be a Whigg, what then? let him mend his Manners, and he may be a Whigg still, and if not, the rest ought to be asham'd of him.

Besides,

More Reformation, &c.

A

SATYR.

HE that in Satyr dips his angry Pen,
 To lash the Manners, and the Crimes of Men ;
 Pretends to bring their Vices on the Stage,
 And draw the proper Picture of the Age :
 If he be mortal, if he be a Man,
 They'll make a Devil of him if they can.
 The meanest slip shall in a Glass be shown,
 That by his Faults they may excuse their own :
 So guided by their Passions, Pride, or Fate,
 That they who should reform, recriminate :
 And he that first reforms a vicious Town,
 Prevents their Ruin, but compleats his own ;
 For if he was an Angel from on high,
 He cannot 'scape the general Infamy :
 They who resolve they never will amend
 Assault him first, their Vices to defend ;
 And when his Lines may happen to convince,
 They miss the Passions, tho' they touch the Sense.
 By secret Pride, of which we all partake,
 We'll hate the Doctrine for the Teacher's sake :

D

Scorn

Scorn the Instruction, or with high Disdain,
 Tho' we receive the Hint, abuse the Man;
 As School Boys, when corrected for a Fault,
 Like what they learn, but hate the Man that taught.

III Nature is conspicuous enough
 In Mankind's strong Aversion to Reproof,
 In which their Passions contradict their Sense,
 While Shame and Pride shut out their Penitence.

For Pride's the Native Regent of the Mind,
 And where it rules it ruins all Mankind;
 He that pretends to storm it, may as well
 Assault the very Counterscarp of Hell:
 Ten Thousand lesser Devils stand within,
 To garrison their Frontier Town of Sin:
 Whom e're this swelling Vapour does possess,
 It never fails their Reason to suppress;
 To struggle with it is a vain Pretence,
 It masters all the Manners and the Sense;
 But above all things, 'tis distinctly shown,
 In that our least Mistakes we scorn to own:
 Go on in Vice, because we hate to mend,
 And won't acknowledge what we can't defend:
 And if the sawcy Priests, or Poets, dare
 To lash the fashionable Vice we wear;
 Nay, tho' their Language should convince th' Age,
 They'll hiss the grave Instructor off the Stage.

Shame, Pride's young Sister, and her self a Vice,
 Prompts Nature next Repentance to despise;
 She talks of Honour, Scandal of the Times,
 Blushes at Reformation, not at Crimes.

Men must be vicious when they have begun,
 The scandal of Acknowledgment to shun;
 They must go on in Vice, because they're in,
 Asham'd t' repent, but not asham'd to sin:
 These Mens Destruction no Man can prevent,
For Modesty has made them Impudent.

The Difficulty in this Riddle lies;
 The Vertue shou'd reform them is their Vice:
 No proper Language can describe the Case,
 Too little Honesty, and too much Grace:
 Cowards, whom Nature too much Courage lent,
 Who dare to sin, but dare not to repent:
 Fools, who unhappily are curst with Wit,
 And know not how to own what they commit.

These Arguments the latent Cause contain,
 Why Mankind are so oft reprov'd in vain:
 Their Modesty's the new uncommon Evil,
 'Tis bad to sin, but to repent's the Devil.
 He that offends may ha' been Vice's Tool,
 But to acknowledge makes a Man a Fool;
 Puts him quite out of Fashion in the Town,
 And he that *once* reforms is *twice* undone.

Satyr, while Men upon such Maxims move,
 Expect no Quarter, if thou wilt reprove;
 If e're unhappily thou step'st awry,
 Thy general Vertue's all condemn'd to die:
 With a full Cry they'll join to hunt thee down,
 By th' universal Clamour of the Town.

Then first examine with a careful Hand,
 And search the ancient Statutes of the Land,

And if you miss the matter on record;
 See what assistance Reason will afford;
 Enquire among the Sages, often try
 The Rules of Wisdom and Philosophy,
 And learn, if possible, from wiser Men,
 Who us'd to be allow'd our Vices to condemn.

If Innocence alone must Guilt remove,
 Where lives the Man that's fitted to reprove?
 Whose Life will Scandal and Reproach prevent,
 And never had occasion to repent?
 If in our Circle such a Star should shine,
 Thy Whips and Scorpions Satyr must resign:
 He only cou'd a right of Scandal claim,
 And he alone might honestly defame.

But since Mankind are all alike so frail,
 That Crimes with Life come like Estates in tail;
 All have an equal Title to Reproach,
 Except some few, who sin a Knot too much:
 He that has all his own Mistakes confess'd,
 Stands next to him who never has transgress'd,
 And will be censur'd for a Fool by none,
 But they who see no Errors of their own:
 For Innocence in Men cannot be meant
 Of such as ne'er offend, but as repent;
 Therefore of them that Vices reprehend
 'Tis not requir'd that they should ne'er offend:
 But this they always owe to Gods and Men,
 Not to commit the Vices they condemn;
 Nor to be quite subdu'd by general Crimes,
 Not first debauch, and then reform the Times.

Satyr is Nonsense when it comes from those
 Who practise all the Errors they expose;
 This is reforming of the World by halves,
 And all the Satyr points upon themselves;
 Directly tell us their own Names are meant,
 As if they sinn'd on purpose to repent.

Yet is it not thy Business to descry
 The vulgar Errors of Society?
 Human Infirmities are not the Crimes,
 For which thou art to scandalize the Times;
 Nor is it fit for thee to call to mind,
 Or banter the Misfortunes of Mankind;
 For if their Sins and Sorrows must come in,
 Thy Satyr must upon thy self begin.
 Since none that ever wrote a Line before
 Of *these*, has had, so many of *those*, has more:

Malice shall write thy Character in vain,
 Thou know'st more Faults than thy Describers can;
 But let the Man that pens thy History
 Correct his own, and first repent like thee:
 He's welcome then his Satyr to advance,
 And gorge his rising Spleen with thy Mischance:
 'Tis vain against thy Crimes to raise a Storm,
 Let those recriminate who first reform:
 Let them expose thy Errors to the Town,
 As freely as if they themselves had none:
 Thou shalt go unprov'd 'till they repent,
 But first let them reform, and thou'rt content.

If ever yet thou didst pretend to be
 From Passions, Pride, or from Misfortunes free,

In this thou hast been guilty of a Crime,
Blacker than all the Vices of the Time.

Nay, if it should be thy severer Fate,
That those thou hast reprov'd recriminate;
And, as in Malice it is often found,
Should forge on thee the Crimes with which themselves
(abound;
Thy Pen shall never plead thine Innocence,
Nor write one angry Line in thy Defence;
Because thy guilty Thoughts can call to mind
More secret Crimes than ever they could find.

Yet tell them who their darling Vices love,
Thou still retain'st a Title to reprove;
For this thy Satyr's Credit shall restore,
Thy Faults are less, and thy Repentance more.

Nor will Recrimination ever do't,
For common Vices are not in dispute;
But let the Men who think thou dost 'em wrong,
And are so touch'd and angry at thy Song,
Rummage the bottom of thy Character,
To find the Crimes which thou hast banter'd there;
And if with Truth of Conduct they can find
Those Crimes in thee for which thou blam'st Mankind,
Then let them blast thy Satyr and condemn
The partial Malice of thy ill-bred Pen,
Then let thy Rhimes be curst, *but not till then.*

G — writes Satyrs, rails at Blasphemy,
And his next Page lampoons the Deity;
Exposes his *Darinda's* vicious Life,
But keeps six Whores, and starves his modest Wife;

Sets

Sets up for a Reformer of the Town,
Himself a First Rate *Rake* below Lampoon.

To sin's a Vice in Nature, and we find
All Men to Error and Mistakes enclin'd,
And Reprehension's not at all uncivil,
But to have *Rakes* reprove us, that's the Devil.

S——n, if such a thing this Age can show,
Sets up for an instructing sober *Beau*,
An air of Gravity upon his Brow,
And wou'd be pious too, if he knew how;
His Language decent, very seldom swears,
And never fails the Play-House, nor his Prayers;
Vice seems to ha' been banish'd from his Doors,
And very, very, very seldom whores.

His Brother Fops he drags to Church to Pray,
And checks the Ladies if they talk too gay:
But S——n most unhappily has fix'd
On two Extreame's which never can be mix'd;
For they will all the Power of Art out-do,
Can join the new Reformer and the Beau.

Some that look out for Wit, and love to read,
Are raising Bully *Strephon* from the Dead;
His vicious Lines they say will Vice lampoon,
And *Rochester* shall now convert the Town:
What tho' the Bawdy runs thro' all he writ,
The more the Wickedness the more the Wit.
The vilest Sense which in his Verse appears
Will ruin Lewdness by the Dress she wears;

And thus with lame Pretences they revive
 Those Lines when dead he blush'd at whilst alive :
 As if Mankind could not discern their Evil,
 Without a naked Vision of the Devil.

Like some gay Ladies, who, as Authors say,
 First for the vicious part approve the Play ;
 But threaten they would all the Work refuse,
 Did not the Wit the lewder part excuse.

These, worse than *Rocheſter*, prepare to ſin,
 And act the Follies he left off again :
 Like him they boldly venture on the Crime,
 But think not of repenting too like him.
 Pleas'd with the Lines he wiſh'd he had not writ,
 They court his Folly, and paſs by his Wit.

Some, *Satyr*, make thy ſharp Rebukes in vain,
 Whoſe Reformation no Man can explain :
 The Fault which they're reprov'd for they forſake,
 And change of Vices not of Manners make,
 Tranſpoſe their Crimes, which they by turns commit,
 And manage their Repentance by their Wit.

These from thy *Satyr* always were ſecure,
 Fenc'd by the Mask of Penitence they wore ;
 Buſie to cure the Error of the Times,
 But Shams of Reformation hide their Crimes.
 The Courſe of Nature does their Faults renew,
 And when they lay one down, they take up two.
 Theſe are the *Royal Companies* of Vice,
 Whoſe Reformation in their out-ſide lies ;

Who

Who shift their Crimes about from Hand to Hand,
 And *Stock-job* Sin, as Men transfer their Land;
 The *Devil's Brokers* for Exchanges, who
 Old *Whiston*, *Haynes*, or lewder *Crisp* out-do.
 These are *Dissenters* from the Modes of Vice,
 But hold *Occasional Conformities*;
 A general Vertue openly profess,
 But *as occasion offers* can transgress.

D——d's a Penitent, his former Days
 Were spent in all the high Extreame of Vice;
 At *Rome*, at *Paris*, and wher'e're he came,
 The Bravoes knew his Face, the Whores his Fame.
 His Bully Sword he now forbears to draw,
 Repents of Blood, and murders now by Law;
 Reforms his open Lewdness, and begins
 To mingle some Discretion when he sins;
 Has learnt to blush, and pleads in Scripture Phrase,
 And shakes his Head at his own lewder Days.
 The outside of Repentance may proceed,
 But still the Devil and the Man's agreed:
 He changes publick Crimes for private Vice,
 And where's the Reformation pray of this?

K——'s a Dissenter, and severe of Life,
 Instructs his Household, and *corrects his Wife*;
 Reproves a Stranger if he hears him swear,
 For Vice and he ha' been some Years at War;
 But Sins of Inclination will remain,
 Eclipse the Christian, and expose the Man:
 For Wine's the darling Devil of his Life;
 This reconciles the Antichristian Strife

Betwixt the Convert and his former Friends,
 And for his Reformation makes amends.
 Religion seems to have possess'd his Soul,
 But Vice corrupts the parts, and taints the whole,
 Infects his painted Piety and Zeal,
 And shows the Hypocrite he'd fain conceal.
 The Bottle conquers all his Reformation,
 And makes Religion stoop to Inclination.
 Lectures and Sermons he frequents by Day,
 But yet comes Home at Night too Drunk to Pray;
 Yet too much Piety is his Disease,
 Thank Heaven! there's few such Hypocrites as these;
 That wipes his Mouth and acts without Remorse,
 Sins and repents, repents and sins in course.

All this to true Religion's no Disgrace,
 For Hypocrites encrease in every place.
 The Church may the Dissenters then despise,
 When they themselves are free from Men of Vice;
 And Whiggs may Church Integrity decry,
 When none are so but Men of Honesty;
 For Party Vice can no Religion blame,
 But Knaves of all Religions are the same;
 The Villain in his Heart will still be so,
 Tho' he to Church or *Conventicles* go.
 The sacred Mask put on the Man may come,
 And joyn with all the sorts in Christendom.

Satyr forbear to touch the *honest few*,
 Who are to Honour and to Conscience true;
 Whom no occasional Pretence can bribe,
 No Byass turn, or Human Force prescribe.

These

These are the Favourites of God and Man;
 Whom Kings need never fear, nor Laws restrain;
 They never study to embroil the State,
 Nor mortgage their Religion to be Great.
 Tho' Oaths or Sacraments they may decline,
 'Tis not from subtil Reasons, but Divine;
 The private Scruples in the Conscience fix'd,
 From Int'rest free, and with Design unmix'd:
 And therefore when by Fear or Honour mov'd,
 Their Native Honesty is quickly prov'd.
This with a just Contempt they can defie,
 And *that* with equal Constancy deny.

With steddy Faith they serve the Government,
 In Judgment, not in Charity dissent:
 To the Establish'd Church they yield the Hand,
 For Conscience only they dispute Command;
 And those few Doubts which force them to divide,
 Are from Necessity, and not from Pride:
 Events or Causes are not their Pretence,
 These they resign with Peace to Providence:
 They seek no Place for Profit or Applause,
 Are Friends to *Cæsar* and to *Cæsar's* Laws.
 In Quietness and Peace is their delight,
 And always where they can't obey submit:
 For the Establish'd Government they Pray,
 To the Establish'd Government they pay,
 With hearty Zeal Sincerity and Love,
 Which both the Christian and the Subject prove.
 The *English* Crown they chearfully maintain,
 And wish that where it is it may remain.

The Church they can't conform to they defend,
 Its Civil Power uphold, its Sacred Power befriend;
 With Toleration they are well content,
 And these are they the Toleration meant :
 No Government would such as these oppress,
 Or wish to make their little Numbers less.

What tho' we think their Consciences misled,
 Conscience is positive, and must b' obey'd ;
 And he that's faithful to its Dictates goes
 Direct and steddy to the Truth he knows ;
 And they that find a nearer way than he
 May blame his Knowledge, not his Honesty.

But he's the Hypocrite who both ways bends,
 Whose doubling Conscience serves his private Ends ;
 To day can from the Establish'd Church divide,
 Tomorrow can his Conscience sell to Avarice and Pride ;
 Alternate Oaths and Sacraments can take,
 Alternate Sacraments and Oaths can break ;
 On one Hand can the Establish'd Church despise,
 And when *Occasion offers* can comply :
 No *Tolerating Laws* can these defend,
 To these no *Royal Promises* extend ;
 The Nation should determine this Dispute
 By timely Laws, lest Heaven it self shou'd do't.

In vain to Honesty they may pretend,
 Vain are the Shifts the Practice to defend ;
 He never can be steddy to the Truth
 Who builds with one Hand and pulls down with both.

They that for Conscience sake at first dissent,
 Can ne're conform again till they repent :

The Actions of themselves so distant lye,
 They stab the first dissent when they comply:
 The Scruple's banish'd by instructing Light,
 As Day succeeds the darkness of the Night.

But some to distant Ages will retire,
 And of the Church's Infant Years enquire;
 And there from Apostolick Practice try
 To back the grand Mistake with Scriptural Authority:
St. Paul, they tell us, sometimes did refuse,
 And sometimes joyn'd in Worship with the *Jews*:
 To day would Christian Profelytes Baptize,
 To morrow *Hebrew* Converts Circumcise.
 Crowds of Dissenting Christians from them draw,
 Exalt the Gospel, and Preach down the Law;
 Yet as Occasion offer'd too thought fit
 To Synagogues and Sanhedrims submit.
 And this they very learnedly apply,
 To their Occasional Conformity.

No Man can certainly be thus mistaken,
 But he that's of his Senses first forsaken;
 Since he that has but half an Eye may see
 The Reasons differ, tho' the Facts agree;
 The distant Circumstances soon will tell
 The lame and incoherent Parallel.

For *Law* and *Gospel* were the very same,
 From one Divine Original they came:
Law was but *Gospel* under Types conceal'd,
 And *Gospel* was those Types and *Laws* reveal'd;
 The Sacred Institution only dy'd,
 Because the thing was come it signifi'd;

The

The Types and Figures could no more remain;
 Because the Substance made the Shadows plain;
 The meaning of the Law was not destroy'd,
 Only the Gospel made th' Occasion void;
 The Sacred Substance still remain'd alive,
In its Eternal Representative.

The equal Object equally will last,
That of a Christ to come, *this* of a Jesus past:
 Thus both in equal Strength remain alive,
That Antecedent, *this* the Relative;

The Circumstances to one Center came,
 And were not two Religions, but the same.
 Their high successive Order was Divine,
 Where *that* determin'd *this* was to begin;
 So that the Man who did with *this* comply,
 Did not by Consequences *that* deny.

The Knife with which the Rabby Circumcis'd;
 The Font in which the Christian was Baptiz'd,
 Were all the same, the same they signifi'd,
 And only one another they supply'd;
 Both had their Sanction from the high Command;
 And the same thing by both we understand:
 No Scruple therefore justly cou'd arise,
 Whether to cut the *Foreskin* or Baptize.

The same in Ceremonies holds as true,
 The Jewish Rites the Christian Doctrines view;
 Their *Altars, Sacrifices, Incense, Smoke,*
Attonements, Sprinklings, Blood, and Priests t' invoke;
 The *Temple, Holy-Place, and Mercy-Seat,*
Feasts, Passovers, New-Moons, forbidden Meat,

All these the great *Messias* represent,
For him they all were made, and him they meant.

Human Inventions were not here impos'd,
Where Heaven commands the Conscience is foreclos'd.
And all the Scruples that cou'd here remain
Was but where *this* shou'd end, or *that* begin :
Here was no Civil Power or Military
To make indifferent *things* be necessary :
Nothing was insignificant or vain,
Nothing was doubtful, nothing was Humane ;
'Twas all from Heaven, and tho' 'twas near its end,
Its great beginning did their Awe command.

If this be all we find to justifie
This modern Hetrodox Conformity,
The lame Precedent no Example draws,
But leaves the Practice modern as the Cause.

Besides, if 'twill not thus be understood,
Jewish Conformity may still be good ;
Christians may when they think it fit Baptize,
Or as *Occasion* offers Circumcise ;
The Talmud use instead of Common-Prayer,
Altars and Sacrifices now prepare :
We may their Feasts, New-Moons, and Fasts divide,
And *Pentecost* observe for *Whitfontide* ;
If we the Apostle's Practice will avow,
Because 'twas lawful then, 'tis lawful now ;
Christians their ancient Rites may first refuse,
And then *Occasionally* turn to Jews.

But

But if to Scripture Periods we refer,
 We find no Mystery nor Wonder there;
 The Matter's plain, the Difficulty's solv'd;
 The Type was in the Typifi'd dissolv'd :
 But till the perfect Union, 'tis as plain,
 Till one was fix'd the other might remain.
 How readily a sinking Cause applies
 To weak and unassisting Vanities !
 And how industriously will Men defend
 The Faults on which their Interest does depend !

Satyr, thou may'st the farther Search refrain,
 And let the latent Arguments remain ;
 He that his bass'd Conscience can defie
 Will Arguments and Principles deny :
 To talk where Pride and Profits are to come,
 Is preaching Gospel to a Kettle-Drum.

Interest, like one of *Jeroboam's* Calves,
 In all Religions will at least go halves ;
 But where it gets a little overway
 It hurries all our Honesty away.
 If Conscience happens to maintain its Ground,
 And is too long on the Defensive found,
 The vigorous Siege is carry'd on so fast,
 'Tis Ten to One but it's subdu'd at last.
 But if the Scruple happens to remain,
 Religion's twisted up, that Scruple to explain.
 To this great Idol Conscience learns to bow,
 And what was *Error* once is *Order* now.

Satyr, forbear, industriously refrain
 The sacred Name of *Conscience* to prophane ;

Cunning and Craft may take up the Disguise,
 But *Conscience* must be under some Surprize:
 And, when he's well recover'd, will raise a Storm,
 'Tis Ten to One 'twill make them all reform:
 He can the strongest Resolution break,
 And *will be heard*, when he thinks fit to speak:
 The stoutest Courage never could sustain
The shocks of Conscience, the Attempt's in vain.

The Atheist feels *this trifle* in his Breast,
And, while he banters, trembles at the Jest;
 The secret Trepidation racks his Soul,
 And when he says, *no God*, replies, *thou Fool*.
 Of Sleep it robs their Nights, of Joy the Day,
 Makes Monarchs stoop to Fear, *and Kings obey*;
 Distracting Thoughts in all their Mirth 'twill raise,
 And strange Regret to pleasant Acts conveys.

Kingdoms and Governments it keeps in awe,
 For *Conscience* is superior to the Law.
 No Acts of Parliament can here constrain,
 But Force or Fraud are equally in vain.
 Dispensing Power has here a legal force,
 For Laws to conquer *Conscience cease of course*;
 And where a Law commands a Man to sin,
The Law goes out, and lets the Libel in.

Men never could commit Mistakes, would they
 This *constant waking Centinel* obey;
 Would they within this Cabinet retire,
 And of this *faithful Counsellor* enquire
 Of every Action, they might quickly know
 Whether it was an honest one or no.

Conscience must be the only thing that's meant
 When we express our Reasons for Dissent;
 They who another Argument can make,
 Let them stand up, and bid their Reasons speak:
 For he that can dissent, and yet comply,
 I own has learn'd a Doctrine more than I.

Satyr, with them thy future Portion seek
 Who use no Arts their Conscience to bespeak;
 But listening to his honest Dictates they
 With Care enquire, and then with Care obey.
 If e're thou turn thy Pen to banter these
 May all thy Power of Satyr from thee cease;
 May Heaven deny thee Wit as well as Bread,
 Thou cease to write, and wise Men cease to read.
 For against these it is in vain to write,
 S—— will not here find out his Hypocrite,
 And were we all like these *there's none wou'd try't.*

Hoadly would answer Calamy in vain,
 Only to help him baffle him again:
 Sachevrell's Standard never had been spread,
 And High-Church Spleen would hide her angry Head.
 The Church her self would so much Candour feel,
 To own their Honesty, and spare their Zeal:
 The general Charity would quickly flow,
 And Christian wou'd be all the Names they'd know:
 Here wou'd be then no Parties, nor no Strife,
 The Nation wou'd be easie as they're safe;
 The Church might govern, and have no Pretence
 To crush the Party in their own Defence,
For what have Men to fear from Innocence?

Then

Then they could find no Colour to oppress,
 And if the Hate remain'd *the Cause would cease.*
 No Prince, no Church could such a Race destroy,
 Without the blackest Brand of Tyranny.
 Religion, *if there's any in the Land,*
 Would own the Party, and the Cause defend:
 And all the Clamour at their long dissent
 Must bow to *Conscience* which they can't prevent.

Now, *Satyr*, all thy Grievances rehearse,
 And so *retrieve* the Honour of thy Verse.
 No more shalt thou old *Marvell's* Ghost lament,
 Who always rally'd Kings and Government:
 Thy Lines their awful distance always knew,
 And thought that Debt to Dignities was due.
 Crowns should be counted with the Things Divine,
 On which Burlesque is Rudeness and Prophane;
 The *Royal Banter* cannot stand the Test,
But where we find the Wit we lose the Jest.
 Poets sometimes with Royal Praise appear,
 And sometimes too much Flattery prepare,
 Which wiser Princes hardly will dispense,
 Tho' 'tis a Crime of no great Consequence.
 But *Satyr* has no Business with the Crown,
 No Wit can with good Manners there be shown.
 He that the Royal Errors will expose,
His Courage more than his Discretion shows.
 Besides, his Duty shou'd his Pen restrain.
 And blame the Crime, but not describe the Man:
 His proper Parallel of Vice may bring,
 Expose the Error, not expose the King.

Be faithful, *Satyr*, and thy Lines address;
Before Mankind accuses thee confess;
 And where thy Pen has thy own Maxims broke
 Recal thy Senses, and the Crime revoke:
 Thy swift pursuit of Vice a while adjourn,
 To Panegyricks all thy Satyrs turn;
 Let Guilt take Breath, and all *the Sons of Sin*
 Have Time with thee to mend their Manners in;
 Cease now to lash the Errors of the Town,
 And turn thy pointed Satyr at *thy own*.

Thy needless Care from Vices to abstain,
 Thy Vertue and thy Temperance all's in vain;
 Since the first slip of thy unhappy Pen
 Levels thy Fame beneath the worst of Men:
 Unhappy Poets! when they strive t' excel,
 Perish in the Extreame of doing well.
Promiscuous Gall, unwarily let fly,
 May hit the Honest, pass the Guilty by:
 But when at Sovereign Power 'tis loosely thrown,
 'Tis Treason in the Verse, and all the Crime's our own.
 When thy *luxuriant Fancy* soar'd too high,
 And scorch'd its Wings with Beams of Majesty,
 Like hasty *Icarus*, depriv'd of Flight,
 It sunk beneath the Ignorance of Night.

Herein much more than others thou hast sinn'd,
Because thy Lines against thy Light offend;
 Hast broke thy own firm constituted Laws,
 Hast been thy self th' Effect, thy self the Cause;
 And it must be the Devil drew thee in
 Against thy Sense and Custom thus to sin,

Since

Since thou hast always own'd that Heaven thought fit
Want of Manners should pass for want of Wit.

Well grounded Satyr's Physick for the Times;
 But operates on nothing but our Crimes;
 And turns to rankest Poyson, if let fly
 At Vertue, Innocence, or Majesty.
 Satyr on Kings and Queens is all Lampoon,
 And he that writes it ought to be undone.
 'Tis Wits High Treason, and for Punishment
 The Poet ought to lodge i'th' City's Tenement.

Bedlam's the County Goal, the Wits should know;
 Where all *Apollo's* mad Men ought to go;
 The Muses *Bridewell* to correct such Fellows
 As merit not the Favour of the Gallows;
 A worser Dungeon *than the last below*,
 Where, if Men are not mad, it makes them so:
 For he that wou'd not rather chuse to die,
 And from *St. Bedlam* to *St. Tyburn* flie,
 Must have no Senses left to be his Guide,
 Must certainly be lunatick and mad.

Satyr go on, and search the rankl'd Wound;
 For *more Mistakes of thine* are to be found;
 And if thou should'st not all thy Faults confess,
 Mankind will mind reforming theirs the less:
 The Country Justice may disturb the Peace,
 The Clergy drink and whore, the Gospel cease,
 The Doctors cavil, and the Priests contend,
 And Convocation-Quarrels see no end;
 The *High* and *Low-Church* Strife embroil the State,
 And subdivide us all for God knows what;

Physicians fetch their Poisons from afar,
 And Soldiers study to protract the War;
 Give Thanks for Victories when they retreat,
 And find out Conquests in their own Defeat;
Occasional Conformity prevail,
 And looseness on our Principles entail.
 Thou art not qualify'd to lash the Crimes,
 Or heal by searching Verse the vicious Times;
 Lest in pursuance of thy stated Law
 Thy own Mistakes should keep thy Pen in awe.

Then first confess that with unwary touch
 Thou lashest some too little, some too much;
 And humbly ask the Pardon of Sir *John*
 For thinking him too much below Lampoon:
 Not that he less than others loves a Whore,
 Not that he's less than those debauch'd, *but more.*
 For when to Beasts and Devils Men descend
 Reforming's past, and Satyr's at an end.
 No decent Language can their Crimes rehearse,
 They lye below *the Dignity of Verse.*
 But if among thy Lines he would have place,
 Petition him to *counterfeit some Grace,*
 Let him like something of a Christian sin,
 Then thou't ha' some Pretence to bring him in.

Then thou art blam'd for winking at a L--d
 Whose Rapes and Vices stand upon Record,
 And call'd a partial Coward, for passing by
 Such open Crimes, because of Quality;
 But here thy Courage has too much been Proof,
 And to thy Loss hast anger'd Lords enough;

But if 'tis Criminal, my Lord may see
 Thy Veneration for Nobility;
 Since their sublimer Quality might lead
 To guess they're meant when other Names are read;

Satyr's imperfect, and the Title's lame,
 Till Men may read their Crimes without the Name;
 And Characters the Persons best explain,
 When by the Picture all Men know the Man;
 For if the Picture does the Person shew,
 They're certain Signs that the Description's true;
 The Poet is not taken upon trust,
 For all Men know the Characters are just;
 But if the Names are needful to impart,
 There must be a Deficiency of Art;
 Like the *Dutch Painter* with his *Man and Bear*,
 Who writes beneath to tell us what they are,
 As if the Picture would not let us know
 Which was the properest Booby of the two.

And wou'dst thou now describe a *modern Tool*,
 To wit, to Parties, and himself a Fool;
 Embroil'd with State to do his Friend no good,
 And by his Friends themselves misunderstood;
 Misconstru'd first in every Word he said,
 By these unpitied, and by those unpaid;
 All Men would say the Picture was thy own;
No Gazet Marks were half so quickly known:

Thou that for *Party-Interest* didst indite,
 And thought'st to be excus'd for *meaning right*;
 This Comfort will thy want of Wit afford,
 That now thou'rt left a *Coxcomb* on Record;

England had always this one Happiness,
 Never to look at Service, but Success;
 And he's a Fool that differing Judgment makes,
 And thinks to be rewarded for Mistakes.

If thou canst name the long forgotten Days,
 When Men for *good Intentions* met with Praise;
 If in our ancient Records you can find
True English Men to Gratitude inclin'd.
 If it has been the Talent of the Land
 Merit without Success to understand,
 Then you might have expected a Reward,
 And then ha' thought the Disappointment hard.

Endeavour bears a Value more or less,
 Just as 'tis recommended by Success;
 The lucky Coxcomb every Man will prize,
 And prosperous Actions always pass for wise.

! Poet take heed of *Irony's* again,
 You'll meet with more than *Labour for your Pain*;
 If thinking to oblige them you offend,
 'Tis as they think, and not as you intend;
 For if you miss what honestly you meant,
 The Error's not excus'd by the Intent;
 The Custom of the Age will fix th' Offence,
 Not in your meaning, but your Ignorance.
 The Reason's plain, the Subject is with-held,
 The Fact's express'd, but the Intent's conceal'd.

Nor will this Reason form a just Pretence
 To plead there is no need of Penitence:

If thou hast err'd, tho' with a good Intent,
One merits Pity, t'other Punishment.

Deal with the Times as they ha' dealt with thee;
If they mistake, what's that Mistake to me,
Be unconcern'd at that, and let them know
Thou'lt own the Error *'cause they think 'tis so*;
For 'tis a Debt to Sovereign Power due
Always to let them think *that they say true*;
And he that strives to make the Matter known,
In opening first their Eyes, *puts out his own*.

Dear Satyr, thou wer't of thy Wits forsaken,
To leave them any room to be mistaken;
For if a Poet's meaning is not plain,
The World allows no leisure to explain;
He dies for the first Crime he can commit,
For want of Cunning, not *for want of Wit*;
If double meaning hangs upon his Tongue
He's always certain to be taken wrong,
And Misconstructions are his constant Fate,
Which he in vain corrects when 'tis too late.

Then Satyr justify thy self no more,
Thou wilt be only where thou was't before;
For till the World thy meaning understood
They ought to think thy meaning was not good.
To b' unintelligible is a Crime
Almost as bad *in Prose* as 'tis in *Rhyme*.
An Author who we cannot understand
Is like a *Resty Horse*, at no Command;
And 'tis convenient in a Land of Peace
With Care to cause Disturbances to cease;

Besides,

Besides, a *State Enigma* put in print
 Has something really seditious in't.
 Unless the Exposition suit the Times,
 For Negatives in Authors pass for Crimes;
 Then let thy Penitence for this be known,
 And when thou writes again thy meaning own,
 Or honestly declare that thou hast none.

He that dares write and leave the World to guess
 Will fall like thee, and he deserves no less;
 Yet be not fullen, Satyr, and give o're,
 But never trust 'em with thy meaning more.

For if thou but a Hypocrite describe,
 The Clergy search for him among their Tribe;
 If one *Sir Harry* in thy Lines appear,
 All the *Sir Harry's* think themselves are there.
 If to describe a Blockhead we intend,
 The *Beans* take Arms, and think they're all design'd;
 Each Man takes up the part that suits him best,
 And strives to knock thy Brains out for the rest.

There's not a drunken Justice in these Lands
 But for himself thy *Furius* understands,
 Because so much Similitude appears
 Betwixt the Practice and the Characters.

How many has thy *Fletnacy* own'd?
 Of his supine Accomplishments how fond?
 How satisf'd to be from *Bedlam* free
 Pleas'd to be thought as rich and blind as he?
 The Ladies who in Fops and Fools delight
 Wou'd all be *Diadora's* for her Wit:

What tho' she stands a Whore upon Record,
 They'll never baulk the practice of the Word,
 They'd gladly be as much a Jilt as she,
 To get a Cully half so blind as he.
 'Tis strange, that Men so forward should appear,
 Fond to be thought more Wicked than they are.
 He that to such a pitch in Vice is brought,
 Is quite as wicked as he wou'd be thought.

*B——*s an Atheist, and so angry's grown,
 That *Blackbourn's* Character is not his own.
 Dear Satyr, if thou dost not do him right,
 Be cautious how thou goest abroad by Night.

In Impudence he cannot be outdone,
 Thinks, if there's any Gods, himself is one;
 He raves to see our Verse should be so blind,
 To search for Atheists, and leave him behind.
 In Wickedness he is so nice and odd,
 He will not swear, lest he should own a God:
 Corrects his Vice, for fear the Crimes should tend,
 To prove the Deity which they offend.

Beau P—— shows himself in *Tunbridge* Walks,
 Of strange Amours and numerous Actions talks;
 His Levee's crowded up with Billet Deux,
 He haunts the Court, the Play-house, and the Stews;
 Eternal Tattle dwells upon his Tongue,
 Eternal Bawdy fills up every Song;
 Whores are his daily Consorts and Delight,
 Is lewd all day, but very chaste at Night.

Fate may a Stone upon his Grave bestow,
 Tho' niggard Nature has deny'd him two;

'Tis

'Tis strange that Vice on Nature shou'd prevail,
To fill the Head, and yet forget the Tail.
Supply his want of Lewdness with his Wit,
And make him boast of Sins he can't commit.

But, *Satyr*, that which most concerns thee now
Is what, if Heav'n prevent not, feelingly thou'lt know;
That when a *Learned Mouth's* describ'd by thee
L—— of all *Mankind* should think 'twas he!
Without Dispute the Characters were true,
But that 'twas —— 's none but —— knew.
What tho' to Likeness he might make Pretence,
Similitude cannot be Evidence.

But, *Satyr*, of his Anger have a care,
Or speedily for Martyrdom prepare;
For if within his reach you chance to come
You've sung your last, a Fool may read your Doom,
Tho' no more Poets liv'd in *Christendom*.
Grave *Inuendo* in his Forehead sits,
Able to banter Fools and punish Wits.
From his Resentment, *Satyr*, flee amain,
Like Death, there's none returns from him again;
'Twill be in vain to make a long Defence,
In vain 'twill be to plead thy Innocence;
His Breath concludes the Sentence of the Day,
He kills at once, for 'tis his *shortest way*.

Satyr, go on, do Pennance for thy Crimes,
'And own thy rhyming Errors in thy Rhymes;
Blush not thy Native Folly to make known,
The Pen that has offended must atone;

But if *thou Poet* shouldst be obstinate,
 And load thy Satyr with thy Verses Fate,
 His Blood will certainly be on thy Head,
 And *haunt the Poet* when the *Poem's* dead ;
 With *Whitney's Horses* 'twill in Judgment rise,
 And all thy later Penitence despise.

Kneel then upon the *Penitential Stool*,
 And freely tell the World that thou'rt a *Fool*,
 Which from thy Mouth, if they will not believe,
 Thy Verse shall *lasting Testimonies* give ;
A Fool indeed to advocate for such,
 As load thee daily with unjust Reproach ;
A Fool, as by the Consequence appears,
 To put thy own Eyes out *to open theirs* :
A Fool to tell the Nation of their Crimes,
 And knock thy Brains out to instruct the Times.

From hence old *Rawleigh's* cautious Rule obey,
 And ne're reform the World the *shortest way* ;
 Reproof, the grave Reprover, will undo,
 They'll always hate thee if the Matter's true.

S—— the Grave thy Labours has condemn'd,
 And wisely says he knows what we intend.
 Two fam'd Harangues the Orator has made,
Tho' Talking's not his Talent, but his Trade :
 Yet has his Wit betray'd him to thy Fate,
 For no Man understands what he'd be at ;
 And as his first Discourses seem'd to fail,
 For being all Head, but born without a Tail,
 So these were Damn'd again, as has been said,
 For being all Tail, indeed, without a Head.

*Unhappy Satyr, now review thy Fate,
And see the threatening Anger of the State!
But learn thy sinking Fortunes to despise,
And all thy Coward Friends turn'd Enemies.*

*Before thee stands the Power of Punishment,
In an exasperated Government.*

*Behind the vacant Carpet fairly spread,
From whence thy too well serv'd Allies are fled,
At a remoter distance there they stand,
And mock thy Folly, but thy Fault commend;
Freely thy former Services disown,
And sily laugh to see thee first undone.*

Of thy plain Action wou'd invert the Sense,

*And rail, and counterfeit an Ignorance,
As if 'twas possible thou should'st intend,*

In one Point-Blank two Opposites offend.

*These seem'd provok'd, because they will not know
Thy easie Sense, and those because they do.*

*Satyr, 'twou'd certainly appear a Crime,
Not to applaud their Policy in Rhime,
Who, when poor Authors in their Quarrel write,
Can to their Safety sacrifice the Wit.
Wait for the safe Event, and wisely try,
Whether with Truth or Im'rest to comply,
As Prospects govern, and Success directs,
Their Cunning this approves, or that rejects.*

*Blush for them, Satyr, who thy Name abuse,
And by Reproach wou'd Gratitude excuse,
And tell them as thou may'st be understood,
Their Temper's wicked, tho' their Cause is good.*

Yet never thy just Principles forsake,
For that wou'd be to sin because thy Friends mistake;
 But bid 'em tell thee, if they can tell how,
 What are the Crimes for which they treat thee so.
 What horrid Fact, what capital Offence
 Could bar thee from the Priests Benevolence,
 That they their Benediction should deny,
 And let thee live unblest'd, *unpray'd for die.*
 Thieves, Highway-men, and Murtherers are sent
 To *Newgate* for their future Punishment,
 But all Men pity them when they repent.
 Religious Charity extorts a Prayer,
 And *H——* shall freely visit *Whitney* there;
 Yet three petition'd Priests have said thee nay,
 And vilely scorn'd so much as but to Pray;
 Refus'd the weighty Talent of the Tribe,
 And let their Heat their Piety prescribe;
 Strange Power of Fear upon the Minds of Men,
 Which neither Sense nor Honour can restrain.

Ask them why they're exasperated so,
 To baulk the cheapest Gift they can bestow.
 Satyr, it must ha' been some mortal Sin,
 Some strange Apostacy of thy unhappy Pen,
 That has the Reverend Fathers so perplex'd,
 And disoblig'd the Masters of the Text.

What tho' the scurvy Humours of thy Head,
 In House of Tribulation made thy Bed,
 And Fate, which long thine Enemy was known,
 Had Cloath'd thy Tenement in Walls of Stone?
 I know the Learned Orthodoxly say,
 That after Death there is no room to Pray;

Yet

But

But yet no Article I ever read,
Has counted Men in *Newgate* with the Dead.

Satyr, look back, and former Days review,
How stood it once betwixt the Tribe and you,
In prosperous Days their conscious Pride must know
You fed those Priests that scorn to own you now.
With constant Charity reliev'd their Poor,
For which they'll stone thee now 'tis in their Power.
With just Contempt look back upon their Pride,
And now despise the Gift which they deny'd ;
But let thy Charity their Crime outlive,
And what *they seldom practise* now forgive.
For Heaven, without their Help, upholds thee here,
He only claims thy Thanks who hears thy Prayer,
He can the Royal Clemency incline,
For Human Grace is center'd in Divine.

A N

(65)

AN

ELEGY

ON THE

AUTHOR

OF THE

True-born *English* Man.

THE

PREFACE.

TH^O these Sheets have been wrote several Months; and in a Time that seem'd to make them something more suitable than now, yet the Occasion renewing it self every day; who can refrain from speaking?

Had the scribbling World been pleas'd to leave me where they found me, I had left them and Newgate both together; and as I am metaphorically dead, had been effectually so as to Satyr's and Pamphlets.

'Tis really something hard, that after all the Mortification they think they have put upon a poor abdicated Author in their Curtilous Street Ribaldry, and Bear-Garden Usage; some in Prose, and some in those terrible Lines they call Verse, they cannot yet be quiet, but whenever any thing comes out that does

The P R E F A C E.

not please them, I come in for a share in the Answer, whatever I did in the Question; every thing they think an Author deserves to be abus'd for must be mine.

Several plentiful Showers of Raillery I have quietly submitted to, and thought I had a Talent of Patience as large as might serve me in common with my Neighbours; but there is a Time when a Man can bear no longer, and if the Man is in a little Passion he thinks he ought to be born with.

I tried Retirement, and banish'd my self from the Town; I thought, as the Boys us'd to say, 'twas but fair they should let me alone while I did not meddle with them.

But neither a Country Recess, any more than a Stone Doublet, can secure a Man from the Clamour of the Pen.

In the following Sheets I endeavour to state the Case in order to a Truce; for Shame, Gentlemen, let him alone, why the Man's dead; 'tis a cowardly Trick to beat a Man when he is down, but to fight a dead Man is the Devil.

And with Submission, Gentlemen, the Allegory is just; for if being tied under Sureties and Penalties not to write, at least not to write what some People may not like, be not equivalent to being dead, as to the Pen, I know not what is.

But how do these People treat Mankind, that they pretend to indict a Man for every thing they please, as if they had Power to read his Countenance in Letters, and swear to a Stile as they would to his Face?

'Tis easie to prove the Authors of Books, and no Man can be conceal'd in such Cases; but for a Man to be charged with other Mens Faults, who has too many of his own, is a Method newly practis'd, and more upon me than upon any Body; and yet the Grief of this Usage does not stick so deep upon me, but that I may tell my Antagonists, if any think themselves deserving that Name, that they are very welcome to go on their own way, and use me as they please, I shall always be ready to reply, or by my Silence let them see I do not think it worth while.

A N

ELEGY, &c.

SATYR sing *Lachrime*, thou'rt dead in Law,
 Thy fatal Hour draws on,
 The Lines of thine own *Exit* draw,
 And tell how thou'rt undone.

Send for the Priest, and ask Advice,
 Reflect upon thy Time mispent ;
 When Wit upon its Death-Bed lyes
 'Tis high time to repent.

What canst thou say old *Pluto* to appease ?
 Thy Hymns in that dark World will never please :
 Silence, Eternal Silence is thy Lot,
 And all thy Rhymes and all thy Hymns forgot :
 Bury'd in dark Oblivion, there thou'lt lye
 For seven long Years, a *Wit's Eternity* ?

Little thou thought'st in Verses past
 Those Songs of thine would be thy last.

'Tis hard thy vigorous Muse should lye
 In all her strength of Thought condemn'd to die :

'Tis hard to have her perish in her Prime,
 And most Men think she dy'd before her time.
 With Patience, Satyr, to thy Fate submit,
 And show thy Courage can outdo thy Wit;
 With Calmness meet the Sentence of thy Death,
 And yield with Temper thy Poetick Breath.
 What tho' to Silence they condemn thy Rhymes,
 Even that Silence shall condemn the Times.

The World shall blush when e're they read,
 And thou be still a Satyr, tho' thou'rt dead.

When Malefactors come to die
 They claim uncommon Liberty :
 Freedom of Speech gives no distaste,
 They let them talk at large, because they talk their last;
 'Tis hard thy dying Words should give offence,
 And neither please in Language nor in Sense ;
 He that must never open more,
 Dearly atones for what he said before.

Departed Satyr! let thy Ghost appear,
 To keep the vicious Town in fear;
 Verses shall from thy injur'd Ashes rise,
 And Satyrs always pointed at their Vice:
 No Man shall sin in peace,
 And Vertue only shall thy Shade appease.
 But since, *dear Satyr*, 'tis thy Lot
 Thus to die upon the Spot,
 In softest Notes sing thine own Elegy,
 Be silent dead, but never silent die.

The E L E G Y.

Circled in *Newgate's* cold Embrace,
 And reconcil'd to Death by such a place,
 I from the horrid Mansion fled,
 And, *as concerning Poetry*, am dead:
 To seven long Years of Silence I betake,
 Perhaps by then I may forget to speak:
 And thus I dy'd, and yield Satyrick Breath,
 For to be dumb *in Poetry is Death*.

If you demand a Reason of my Fate,
 Whether it came too soon, or came too late;
 Whether wise Heaven did this permit
 For want of Manners, or else for want of Wit;
 Whether I said too little, or too much,
 Or loaded any with too just Reproach.

If you would know the latent Cause,
 Go search the hidden Secret in the Laws.
 Let not my Verse my Verses Crimes debate,
 Go ask the powerful Engines of the State.

Besides he must be void of Sense
 Who dare stand up in my Defence:
 Behold that Power, which Men call Law,
 Can keep even Innocence in awe.

Let it suffice this Elegy to read,
 And tho' you see the Man,
 All his Poetick Fancy's dead,
 Nothing but Carcass can remain:
 The Shadow of the Poet may appear,
 No Substance can be there:

A walking *Spectrum*, with his Fancy fled,
And he that rais'd the Devil, the Devil has laid.

Yet I have reason to complain,
I cannot quiet in my Grave remain;
The World's disturb'd about my Memory,
They'll neither let me live nor let me die.

If an ill-natur'd Muse
Attempts the Nation to abuse,
If some unhappy Truths they tell,
Which might have been conceal'd as well,
My Ghost's arraign'd, and I am said
Already to be risen from the Dead.

The Mob of wretched Writers stand
With Storms of Wit in every Hand,
They bait my Mem'ry in the Street,
And charge *me* with the Credit of their Wit;
I bear the Scandal of their Crimes,
My Name's the Hackney Title of the Times;
If some new Wit in *Satyr* lies conceal'd,
And lately in Lampoon reveal'd,
My silent Ashes are disturb'd to know
Whether it's dated from below;
Whether it's *mine* or no.

If some in Pasquinades affront the State,
And tempt their yet unpity'd Fate,
Unwilling to be cautious till too late,
The subtil Mimicks to this Shadow fly,
Conceal their Guilt, and say 'tis I:
No Man can satyrise a Man of Fame,
But daily Curses rise against *my Name*.

Hymn, Song, Lampoon, Ballad, and Pasquinade,

My recent Memory invade;

My Muse must be the Whore of Poetry,

And all *Apollo's* Bastards laid to me.

If any Poet has but writ

With an Exuberance of Spight,

Has he the mighty Vices of the Age

And mighty Men too brought upon the Stage;

As who can with his Pen forbear

To dress the S--sM-n in the Robes they're fond to wear?

They search the deep Recesses of my Grave,

Listen to hear the sleeping Genius rave:

Such is the Folly of their Hate,

That Death cannot their Jealousies abate;

Such is the force of Guilt, they see

Such Reason to expect Reproach from me,

Their Fancy harbours the Mistake,

I dream in Death, and send my Ghost to speak.

Yet undisturb'd I safely sleep,

And calm as Death my Silence keep;

I laugh at all the Anger of Mankind,

Who, loth to bear the T—, my Pen confin'd:

I smile at Human Policy,

Who always stop that Mouth whose Words they can't

Yet let them not their Crimes conceal, (deny:

New Satyrs will their Crimes reveal;

More Poets from my Monument shall rise,

Who shall like me their Power despise.

Who shall condemn a vitious Court,

And make the Nation's Knaves the Nation's Sport.

Naked as Nature's first Original
 Vice shall before the Bar of Truth appear,
 Keen Satyrs shall to Judgment call,
 And Power shall not protect them there;
 Satyr shall mighty Crimes rehearse,
No Rogue's above the Quality of Verse.

Satyr shall keep those Knaves in awe
 Who are too cunning for the Law ;
 And shall at least expose the Cheat
 Of those that think themselves too great.
 Fleets shall not spend a Seventeen Months Advance
 To take the Air upon the Coast of *France* ;
 No sham Descents shall e're be made,
 The Money spent, and Majesty betray'd,
 But lasting Verse shall make the Matter clear,
 And what the Nation feels the World shall hear.

Nor will there e're be wanting to this Age
 Poets to spread their Errors on the Stage;
Oppression makes a Poet ; Spleen indites,
 And makes Men write by force, as *G——n* fights.
 Was e're such broken Voyages made ?
 Was ever War so much a Trade ?
 If Fleets to *Italy* shall go,
 And hardly tell the Foe
 Whether they have been there or no :
 Come back to let us know the Money's spent,
 And hardly knew for what they went ;
 The Nation ne'er can want a Poet long
 To turn such Juggling into Song.

When

When Traitors creep into th' Affairs of State,
Poets will always prophesie their Fate;
When Villains serve the Queen by halves,
And fleece the Nation to enrich themselves;

Her Majesty may strive in vain,
Make Peace with *Portugal*, and War with *Spain*,
Fit Armies out, send Fleets to Sea,
The Money's all but thrown away:
Unless the Heroes who Command
Would learn to do as well as understand.

When the new Leagues with *Portugal* appear
All honest Men rejoyce;
But had they been secur'd before the War
'T had been at half the price:
Had not the Nation been betray'd
Lisbon had long ago embrac'd *Madrid*;
The *Bourbon* Lawrels had abandon'd *Spain*,
And *Anjou's* Triumphs been in vain.

Were I alive again, and could but hear
The Hopes we have of this *Algarvian War*,
My Satyr could no more forbear
To pay the due to *William's Character*;
The early Measures of this War he laid,
But 'twas his Fate to be betray'd;
He form'd the 'League the Queen has now retriev'd,
And had he been believ'd
The Queen had not been now embroil'd with *Spain*,
And forc'd to purchase *Portugal* again.
Spain had long since an *Austrian* Monarch known,
And rightful Princes had possess their own.

If some bold Satyr does not soon revive
 To let them know that Honesty's alive;
 If we must always be embrac'd by Knaves,
 And all the Nation's Work be done by halves;
 Be every Year endeavouring to be poor,
 Be always mending what we marr'd before;
 Have always something to retrieve,
 And always doing something to deceive;

Vast Navies fitted out to fight

A Foe that's always out of fight;
 And yet the *French* in flying Squadrons reign,
 Insult our Trade, and Bully all the *Main*,
 And bravely dare our Ships to fight in vain:

If our Sea Captains when they run away
 Shall only forfeit three Months Pay;

If no new Genius rises up to show,

And let the injur'd Nation know

By whom they're thus betray'd, and how;
 I fear, in spite of all that has been said,
 I shall be forc'd to speak, altho' I'm dead.

Mean while let mercenary Poets strive
 To make their Malice my Decease outlive.

Let them reproach my Memory,
 And write, *for now they're sure of no Reply*:
 Let them their true-born *English* Temper show,
 Men in Distress are always treated so:
 Let them with wretched Satyrs glut the Town,
 Expose my Morals, and forget their own;
 This shall my Quiet never discompose,
 Contempt's a Cure which present help bestows;

Silence

Silence shall answer their Reproach,
For Silence is a Debt to such.

But if some Satyrs shall assault my Hearse,
And raise my frighted Ghost with their more frightful
Let such revengeful Wretches understand (Verse,
I'll answer when they'll satisfy my Bond :

If they my Pledges will defend

I'll from this Grave arise,

I'll reassume my Satyrs, and

Leave off these Elegies;

The World shall have their Errors plainly shown,

I'll blast their Vices, and reform my own.

Of all the Men that ever dy'd before

Mine's the severest Case,

The Grave till now was always taken for

A place of Peace:

But I, as if some secret Power I had,

Give Bond to be at quiet when I'm dead;

My Enemies are not content to kill,

But take Security that I'll lye still:

Jealous, it seems, my busie Head

Should make me talk when I am dead.

Here's all the Reason I can make them give,

That tho' the Poet's dead *the Man's alive*.

To which as gravely I have said,

That tho' the Man's alive *the Poet's dead*.

He's bad indeed who when he dies

Has none to mourn his Obsequies;

And of the Vertuous find me one

But some rejoyce when e're he's gone;

So I have Mourners who lament my Verse,
 And some Triumph upon the Satyr's Hearse :
 Some think I die without a Crime,
 Some like my Fate, and think 'twas time.
 But this just Calculation I can make,
 And there I think I can't mistake,
 The Wise and Vertuous Sorrow's Tribute pay,
 And Vice alone keeps Holiday;
 This does my Judgment satisfie,
 For so would every wise Man die :
 So let the Censure of my Works be past,
 So let me die, when I must die my last;
 Let wise Mens Sorrow be my Choice,
 And let *the Knaves and Fools rejoice.*

'Tis true there is some Reason in the Case,
 Vice now has room to shew her Face;
 For now my walking Ghost is laid,
 The grand Contagion may the Nation spread;
 Reproofs may cease,
 And all Men be as wicked as they please.

Cities may Magistrates elect,
 That may the Crimes they practice there protect;
 That all their *D——* Men may out-swear,
 And with exalted Drunk'ness grace the Chair.
 No more departed Satyr can reproach,
 No more the Crimes or Persons touch.

S—— may blast the Root from whence he came,
 And load his Family with Pride and Shame.
 The high exalted Wretch untouch'd may live,
 Ride in his Coach, *and make his Father drive :*

And

And least his Insolence should ever fail
Has laid his own Progenitor in Goal.

Let future Poets blame the Law,
That keeps less Villains more in awe:
But suffers such a Wretch to brave the State,
And sin above the reach of Magistrate:

My *Satyr*, silenc'd by the Times,
Will cease to check the most unnatural Crimes.

Degenerate *M——* may now disown
His Mother's Sense, in hopes to show his own.
But sure the Devil must be in the Cheat,
To tell him he could make it pass *for Wit*,
And make him prove with such excessive pains,
His want of Manners by his want of Brains.
The young unnatural Fop has strove too long,
With empty Head, and inconsistent Tongue.
Nature to make amends for want of Sense,
Has throng'd his Head with clear Impertinence.
His gay outside's a *Satyr on the Fair*,
And lets us know what's most obliging there.

The Ladies who in Beaus delight,
Make shift by day, so they're but pleas'd at Night.

The Charms which please a vicious Bed,
Lye somewhere else than in the Head;
And if the suited Blockheads Parts will hit,
They'll always bear with want of Wit.

His own dear Jest he labours to enjoy,
And studies how to live and die a Boy.
Nature that left th' unfinish'd Fop too soon,
Just lent him Sense enough to be undone;

And now he keeps a mighty pother,
And for Hereditary Wit indicts his Mother:

Rails that he's of his Brains bereft,
 And yet pretends that she has little left.
Bedlam some Title to him had,
 But Fools, they say, are never mad.
 Were not my *Satyr* lately dead,
 His juster Character should here be read;
 Mean time would but his Mother take Advice,
 The vile unnatural Monster to despise:
 Nature the viperous Wretch would soon discard,
 And in his Vices show him his Reward.

G — may his weighty Sense prepare,
 For G — an Elbow of the City Chair.
 He boasts himself the Churches chief Support,
 I think the Church her self should thank him for't:
 Tho' most suppose his Notions were but wild,
 To fetch the *Jew* to Gospelize his Child.
 The *Hebrew* Rake from Synagogue dismiss,
 Came in to Circumcise the Feast,
 And made the Godfather, but spoil'd the Jest.
 Some say 'twas look'd upon as a Reproach,
 And interloping on the Church:
 But others say the *Jew* was rather
 A better Christian than the D — Father,
 And all agree
 The Babe well taught may be the best of all the three.
 Let the uncircumcis'd alone,
 The *Israelite* and he are much at one;
 Both their Religions now they shew,
 The *Hebrew* Christian, and the Christian *Jew*.
 Some say my former *Satyr*s show,
 The Ebb of vicious Characters run low;

But if they'll please to think agen,
 They'll find I never Tyth'd the Men,
 Nor ever throng'd my Verse with One in Ten.
 Why else should S—— and T—— escape,
 This for his Parricide, that his incestuous Rape.
 How came prodigious D—— to be unnam'd,
 For Crimes unheard of lately fam'd.
 Of all the Beaus and Brutes that croud the Town,
 My modest *Satyr* chose but one,
 And he to all Men but himself unknown.
 I never touch'd great M——
 Whose Follies have not been a few ;
 Nor told the World of half the Crimes,
 Which a fine House can harbour from the Times.

L—— and W——t in spight of me,
 Have been as lewd as R—— and D——
 I spar'd them for their Modesty :
 Because their Vice was something new,
 And made one Whore between them serve the two.
 Old lying B—— ne're met with my Reproof,
 Tho' he gave always room enough.
 My *Satyr* strove to whet her Pen
 Against the Crimes, and spar'd the Men :
 But now the fashion of the Times,
 Makes Poets damn the Men without the Crimes.
 If I have been too backward here,
 To make the Vices of the Times appear,
 If e're I come to rise again,
I'll make ye all amends, and name the Men.
 Young S——t shall not the House of God debauch,
 And meet with neither Censure nor Reproach.

If e're my *Satyr* should revive,
 They shall reform, or be asham'd to live.
 But now my sleeping *Satyr* quits the Stage;
 And leaves untouch'd the vicious Age.
 The eager Rakes may unreprov'd sin on,
 There's time enough to be undone.
 No more my *Satyr* shall those Follies touch,
 No more the Crimes, no more the Men reproach:

M—— may hug *the shortest way*,
 And for its Execution pray:
 Next to the sacred Books he plac'd the Scheme,
 And lov'd the Practice better than the Theme.
 He always for his Sovereign pray'd,
 But 'twas to have her be a Tyrant made;
 To have her dip her Hands in Blood,
 And ruin all the Nation for their Good.
 But when the hair-brain'd Zealot found
 The Plot lay deeper under Ground;
 When he first felt the *Satyr* bite,
 And found 'twas writ t' expose, and not excite,
 He chang'd his Ecclesiastick look,
 And damn'd the Author, tho' he lov'd the Book.

My *Satyr* has the hardest Fate,
 Her Book's the Contradiction of the State.
 Riddle Ænigma double Speech,
 Dark Answers, doubtful Scriptures, which
 Puzzle the Poor, and pose the Rich:
 Are plain explicite things to these,
 Who punish Authors when the Subjects please.

Nothing

Nothing but this can such dark Steps explain ;
They like the Doctrine, *but they hate the Man.*

Grave Authors now may write Essays,
That with one Face look several ways,
Of Peace at home, and War abroad,
And damn the Subject which they wou'd applaud.
Banter the Queen with Dedications,
And call that Peace which will embroil three Nations.

S—— may new Harangues indite,
To set Conformity in clearer light :
Learned Quotations bring by rote,
Wise as the Nations he thought fit to quote,
Whose Laws he knew, *but had their Names forgot.*
'Twas his strong forecast which foresaw,
To damn Dissenting by a Law,
Would make our fatal Quarrel cease,
And bring the Nations all to Peace.

Ye Sons of Vice advance your Wit,
'Tis now your turn to reign;
Satyr's subdu'd, and must submit,
And never like to rise again:
My Fate will dictate to the rest,
In me, they know how they shall be oppress'd :
My Doom will learn 'em to be wise,
And ne're attempt Impossibilities.
The Magistrate may now be lewd,
The sawcy *Satyr* shall no more intrude :
A vicious Clergy may the Church supply,
Debauch the Gown, and give their Text the Lie :

Smother their Morals in the Vine,
 And prove the Bottle's Origine Divine.
 Religion may be in a Blanket toft,
 From Hand to Hand, 'till 'tis as good as loft:
 'Till Fate restore some Justice to the Times,
Satyr shall leave 'em to grow old in Crimes.
Atheists may, unmolested, now blaspheme,
 Slight Human Power, and banter the Supream;
 Almighty Drunkenness bear Imperial Sway,
 And Mankind be debauch'd th' *shortest* way.
 The Poor, alone, find in their Crimes their Fate,
 And mock the Duty of the Magistrate;
 They suffer for the Crimes the Rich commit,
 For want of Money, not for want of Wit.

Guilt may in Splendor thro' the City ride,
 With all the Court of Elders by her side;
 Those true Reformers need not fear,
 A silent *Satyr* can do nothing here.
 Their Sham of Reformation they may print,
 With much of carking Nonsense in't;
 Cajole the People to believe they care,
 What lewder Scenes are drawn in *Smithfield* Fair.
 For having damn'd Prophaneness first,
 Then they proclaim the Fair, and bid them do their worst.
 In grand Procession to the place they go,
Was ever God Almighty banter'd so?

Let 'em go on, absurdly act,
 First Vice condemn, then Vice protect;
 My bury'd *Satyr* can no more reprove,
 Leave them to Justice from above;

Refer them to their Orders for the Fair,
 Prophaneness sinks beneath the City Chair;
 But rais'd by Proclamation lives again,
 And every *Booth's* a Libel on the Men.

Yet let young Poets reverence the Chair,
 For God's *Vicegerent's Deputy* sits there:
 With annual Pomp, and Majesty enthron'd,
 But how does Vice conniv'd his Seat surround!
 What tho' no Personal Crimes there could appear,
 To soil the brightness of his Character:
 His weak pursuit of Vice the Law defeats,
For Negatives are Crimes in Magistrates.
 Yet from my Ghost take this Prophetick Curse,
 The next the City chuses shall be worse.

Let 'em expect those days to come,
 When Vice shall be embrac'd, and *Satyr* dumb.
 My Verse beneath this Tomb contented lyes,
 Reproof's a Blessing none but Fools despise,
And they that hate it never will be wise.

Ye Men of Might and *muckle Power*,
 Who rule Mankind, and all Mankind devour;
 If you would have my quiet Ghost remain,
 Lock'd in the Laws too mighty Chain,
 Obey the Nation's Interest and your own,
 Learn to protect, and not betray the Throne.

Witness ye Powers! I promise now,
 For ever Sacred be the Vow!

As long as Magistrates forbear,
 In Crimes they punish to appear.

While Parsons cease to drink and whore,
P——s to be proud, debauch'd, and poor :
 While Lawyers cease to talk Mankind to Death,
 And murder Men with mercenary Breath.
 While *C*——rs Promises regard,
 And Princes Men of Faith reward.
 My *Satyr* shall in quiet sleep,
 Her sentenc'd silence keep;
 With-hold her Rage,
 No more disturb the Age;
 No more the mighty Vices of the mighty Men engage.

When Soldiers hasten to dispatch the War,
 Their Countries Service to their Pay prefer;
 Cease to give Thanks for Victory when they fly,
 And give Almighty Truth the Lie.
 As long as Navies, Fleets, and Men,
 Come shatter'd home, and hasten out again:
 While they protect our Trade, defend our Coast,
 And bravely fight, what e're it cost.
 While Actions good or ill have due regard,
 The Coward Punishment, the Brave Reward.
 While all our Publicans are just,
 And faithfully discharge the People's Trust;
 Receivers due Accounts give in,
 And duly pay it out again.
 While needful Charges are defraid,
 The Navy mann'd as well as paid.
 And no Commission Officers presume,
 To take the Nation's Pay and stay at home.
 When e're these happy Articles appear,
 There'll be no Business for a *Satyr* here.

I may lye still without Security,
 There can be no occasion then for me;
 I shall have nothing left to say,
 For this would stop my Mouth *the shortest way*.

I was in hopes with this Poetick Death,
 Slander would die, and let me take some Breath:
 But Envy never sleeps, Report begins
 To charge my Memory with my Neighbours Sins,
 As if they had not known
I have too many of my own.

They tell me now, *the Party* did combine
 To bear my Charges, and to pay my Fine.
 Malice is always retrograde to Sense,
 And judges things without their Consequence;
 Willing her mischievous Intent to show,
 She always goes too fast, or else too slow.

They that this empty Notion rais'd,
 Not me, but all the Party satyriz'd.
 Since all Men that know how to judge by Rules,
 Know that the Men they mean were never Fools.
 And their worst Enemies would never try,
 To brand them with the blame of Generosity.
 But to remove this modern doubt,
 I'll give *Five Hundred Pound* they'll make it out.

Thus like old *Strephon's* vertuous Miss,
 Who, foolishly too coy,
 Dy'd with the Scandal of a VVhore,
 And never knew the Joy.
 So I, by VVhigs abandon'd, bear
 The *Satyr's* unjust Lash,

Die with the Scandal of their Help,
But never saw their Cash.

No Man of Crime that suffer'd Death
Was ever us'd like me,
In Thefts and Treasons, Rapes and Blood,
All Men have leave to die.
No Sentence sure was half so hard as mine,
That could not die till I had paid my Fine.
Methinks to make me poor had been enough,
For when they had my Pelf,
Perhaps if they had given me time
I might ha' hang'd my self:
But this, and I should think they needs must know it,
Is not *the shortest way* to kill a Poet.

In vain they spend their Time and Breath
To make me starve, and die a Poet's Death:
In *Butler's Garret* I shall ne'er appear,
Neither his Merit nor his Fate I fear.
Heavens keep me but from Bullet, Sword and Gun,
I'm not afraid of being undone;
I'm satisfy'd it never shall be said,
But he that gave me Brains will give me Bread.

Some People ask if I was fairly slain?
Tho' I think not, I shan't complain
Till I ha' slept my time, and rise again.

But they that are concern'd at this
Are freely left to guess
Why I am doom'd to write no more,
If something wan't too true I wrote before.

Why

Why should they thus deny
 To let me write my truer History?
 Why seven long Years of Silence now impose,
 If I had nothing to disclose,
 Nothing to make appear,
 Nothing to say they cannot bear to hear.

But 'tis enough I lost my Life by Law,
 And still by Rules am kept in awe.
 The Manner all exact and regular,
 Whate'er the Consequences are;
 Never demand if it were just,
For if the Forms are right, the Matter must.

Law is a great Machine of State,
 With Hooks and Screws to make it operate;
 Which, as they are wound up by Art,
 With ease perform the fatal part;
 Exactly answer to the Workman's Skill,
 This way 'twill work to save, or that to kill.
 Crime in this Management has no concern,
 No Man can Right from Wrong discern;
 The Movement is so subtil and so sure,
 And does such certain Fate procure.

The Mathematicks are in vain,
 Defensive Study useles does remain.
 This Monster whom it pleases will devour,
For Law is but a Heathen Word for Power;
 A Metaphor, invented to confess
 The Methods by which Men oppress;
 By which with Safety they destroy Mankind,
 While Justice stands before, *and Fraud behind.*

Thousands of little Wheels, and unseen parts
 Of perjur'd Promises, and wheedling Arts,
 This mighty Thing compose,
 And no Man half its crooked Turnings knows.
 The wild Meanders none can trace,
 And no Man knows it by its Face.
 It learns to change with every Turn of Times,
And rings the Time 'tis set to, like the Chimes.
 'Tis by this Engine I thought fit to die,
 And so has many a wiser Man than I;
 And by their broken Promises betray'd,
Satyr is thus upon its Death-Bed laid.

If e'er I come to Life again,
Coleman for that, I'll put no Faith in Man:
 I that did on fair Quarter yield,
 Laid down my Arms, and left the Field,
 Did from my own Defence withdraw,
 Thinking that Honesty was Law,
 Have lost my rhiming Life by this Deceit,
 And I deserve it for my want of Wit.
 Had I remembred *Days of Yore*,
 When we complain'd of Arbitrary Power,
 When Lawyers were the Tools of State,
 And hurried Men to hasty Fate.
 When the great Engine was screw'd up too high,
 And Men were hang'd they knew not why;
 Had I remember'd *Scroggs's* Fame,
 And known that Lawyers are in every Reign the same,
 I ne'er had ventur'd to believe
 Men, whose Profession's to deceive.

Memento Mori here I stand
 With silent Lips, but speaking Hand;
 A walking Shadow of a Poet,
 But bound to hold my Tongue, and never show it:
 A Monument of Injury,
 A Sacrifice to legal T——y.
 I beckon to Mankind to have a care,
 And pointing, tell how I was lost, and where;
 I show the dangerous Shore,
 Where I have suffer'd Shipwrack just before.
 If among Poets there remains a Fool,
 That scorns to take this Notice for a Rule,
 But ventures the Fidelity
 Of those whose Trade and Custom 'tis to l——,
 Let Men no Pity to him show;
 Let him to *Bedlam*, not to *Newgate*, go.

T H E

T H E
S T O R M.
A N
E S S A Y.

I'M told, *for we have News among the Dead,*
 Heaven lately spoke, but few knew what it said ;
 The Voice in loudest Tempests spoke,
 And Storms, which Nature's strong Foundations shook.
I felt it hither, and I'd have you know
 I heard the Voice, and knew the Language too.
 Think it not strange I heard it here,
 No place is so remote, but when *he speaks* they hear.
 Besides, tho' I am dead in Fame,
 I never told you where I am.
 Tho' I have lost Poetick Breath,
 I'm not in perfect State of Death:
 From whence this *Popish Consequence* I draw,
I'm in the Limbus of the Law.
 Let me be where I will I heard the Storm,
 From every Blast *it eccho'd thus, R E F O R M ;*
 I felt the mighty Shock, and saw the Night,
 When Guilt look'd pale, and own'd the Fright ;

And

And every time the raging Element
Shook *London's* lofty Towers, at every Rent
The falling Timbers gave *they cry'd REPENT.*

}

I saw, when all the stormy Crew,
Newly Commission'd from on high,
Newly instructed what to do,

In lowring cloudy Troops drew nigh;
They hover'd o'er the guilty Land,
As if they had been backward to obey;

As if they wonder'd at the sad Command,
And pity'd those they shou'd destroy.

But Heaven, that long had gentler Methods try'd,
And saw those gentler Methods all defy'd,
Had now resolv'd to be obey'd.

}

The Queen, an Emblem of the *soft still Voice*,
Had told the Nation how to make their Choice;
Told them the only way to Happiness
Was by the blessed Door of Peace.

But the unhappy Genius of the Land,
Deaf to the Blessing, as to the Command,
Scorn the high Caution, and condemn the News,
And all the blessed Thoughts of Peace refuse.

Since Storms are then the Nation's Choice,
Be Storms their Portion, said the Heavenly Voice:

He said, and I could hear no more,
So soon th' obedient Troops began to roar :

So soon the black'ning Clouds drew near,
And fill'd with loudest Storms the trembling Air :

I thought I felt the *V*World's Foundation shake,
And look'd when all the wond'rous Frame would break.

I trembl'd as the Winds grew high,
And so did many a braver Man than I :

For

For he whose Valour scorns his Sense,
Has chang'd his Courage into Impudence.

Man may to Man his Valour show,
And 'tis his Vertue to do so ;
But if he's of his Maker not afraid,
He's not courageous then, *but mad.*

Soon as I heard the horrid Blast,
And understood how long 'twould last,
View'd all the Fury of the Element,
Consider'd well by whom 'twas sent,
And *unto whom* for Punishment ;
It brought my Hero to my Mind,
William, the Glorious, Great, and Good, and Kind,
Short Epithets to his just Memory ;
The first he was to all the World, *the last to me.*

The mighty Genius to my Thought appear'd,
Just in the same Concern he us'd to show,
When private Tempests use to blow, (fear'd,
Storms which the Monarch more than Death or Battel
When Party Fury shook his Throne,
And made their mighty Malice known,
I've heard the sighing Monarch say,
The Publick Peace so near him lay,
It took the Pleasure of his Crown away,
It fill'd with Cares his Royal Breast.
Often he has those Cares Prophetically express'd,
That when he should the Reins let go,
Heaven would some Token of its Anger show,
To let the thankless Nation see
How they despis'd their own Felicity.

This robb'd the Hero of his Rest,
Disturb'd the Calm of his serener Breast.

VWhen to the Queen the Scepter he resign'd,
VWith a resolv'd and steddied Mind,
Tho' he rejoic'd to lay the Trifle down,
He pity'd Her to whom he left the Crown :
Foreseeing long and vig'rous Wars,
Foreseeing endless, private, party Jars,
Would always interrupt Her Rest,
And fill with anxious Cares Her Royal Breast.
For Storms of Court Ambition rage as high
Almost as Tempests in the Sky.

Could I my hasty Doom retrieve,
And once more in the Land of Poets live,
I'd now the Men of Flags and Fortune greet,
And write an Elegy upon the Fleet.

First, those that on the Shore were idly found,
Whom other Fate protects, while better Men were drown'd,
They may thank God for being Knaves on Shore,
But sure the Q—-n will never trust them more.

They who rid out the Storm, and liv'd,
But saw not whence it was deriv'd,
Senseless of Danger, or the mighty Hand,
That could to cease as well as blow command,
Let such unthinking Creatures have a care,
For some worse End prepare.

Let them look out for some such Day,
When what the Sea would not, *the Gallows may*.
Those that in former Dangers shunn'd the Fight,
But met their Ends in this disastrous Night,

Have

Have left this Caution, tho' too late,
 That all Events are known to Fate.
 Cowards avoid no Danger when they run,
 And Courage 'scapes the Death it would not shun ;
 'Tis Nonsense from our Fate to fly,
 All Men must once have Heart enough to die.

Those Sons of Plunder are below my Pen,
 Because they are below the Names of Men ;
 Who from the Shores presenting to their Eyes
 The fatal *Goodwin*, where the Wreck of *Navies* lyes,
 A Thousand dying Sailors talking to the Skies. }
 From the sad Shores they saw the Wretches walk,
 By Signals of Distress they talk ;
 There with one Tide of Life they're vexed,
 For all were sure to die the next.
 The barbarous Shores with Men and Boats abound,
 The Men more barbarous than the Shores are found ;
 Off to the shatter'd Ships they go,
 And for the floating Purchase row.
 They spare no Hazard, or no Pain,
 But 'tis to save the Goods, and not the Men.
 Within the sinking Suppliants reach appear,
 As if they'd mock their dying Fear.
 Then for some Trifle all their Hopes supplant,
 With Cruelty would make a *Turk* relent.

If I had any *Satyr* left to write,
 Cou'd I with suited Spleen indite,
 My Verse should blast that fatal Town,
 And drowned Sailors Widows pull it down ;

No Footsteps of it should appear,
 And Ships no more cast Anchor there.
 The barbarous hated Name of *Deal* shou'd die,
 Or be a Term of Infamy;
 And till that's done, the Town will stand
 A just Reproach to all the Land.

The Ships come next to be my Theme,
The Men's the Loss, I'm not concern'd for them;
 For had they perish'd e'er they went,
 Where to no purpose they were sent,
 The Ships might ha' been built again,
 And we had sav'd the Money and the Men.

There the Mighty Wrecks appear,
Hic jacent, useless things of War.
 Graves of Men, and Tools of State,
There you lye too soon, there you lye too late.

But O ye Mighty Ships of War!
 What in Winter did you there?
 Wild *November* should our Ships restore
 To *Chatham*, *Portsmouth*, and the *Nore*,
 So it was always heretofore;

For Heaven it self is not unkind,
 If Winter Storms he'll sometimes send,
 Since 'tis suppos'd the Men of War
 Are all laid up, and left secure.

Nor did our Navy feel alone
 The dreadful Desolation;
 It shook the *Walls of Flesh* as well as Stone,
 And ruff'd all the Nation,
 The Universal Fright

Made guilty *H*—— expect his fatal Night;

His

His harden'd Soul began to doubt,
 And Storms grew high within as they grew high without,
 Flaming Meteors fill'd the Air,
 But *A——* miss'd his *fiery Chariot* there ;
 Recall'd his black blaspheming Breath,
 'And trembling paid his Homage unto Death.

Terror appear'd in every Face,
 Even vile *Blackbourn* felt some shocks of Grace ;
 Began to feel the hated Truth appear,
 Began to fear,
 'After he had burlesqu'd a God so long,
 He should at last be in the wrong.
 Some Power he plainly saw,
 (And seeing, felt a strange unusual Awe ;)
 Some secret Hand he plainly found,
 Was bringing some strange thing to pass,
 And he that neither God nor Devil own'd,
 Must needs be at a loss to guess.
 Fain he would not ha' guest the worst,
 But Guilt will always be with Terror curst.

Hell shook, for Devils dread Almighty Power,
 'At every shock they fear'd the fatal Hour,
 The Adamantine Pillars mov'd,
 'And Satan's *Pandemonium* trembl'd too ;
 The tottering *Seraphs* wildly rov'd,
 Doubtful what the Almighty meant to do ;
 For in the darkest of the black Abode
There's not a Devil but believes a God.
 Old *Lucifer* has sometimes try'd
 To have himself be deify'd ;
 But Devils nor Men the Being of God deny'd,

Till Men of late found out new ways to sin,
And turn'd the Devil out to let the Atheist in.
But when the mighty Element began,

And Storms the weighty Truth explain,
Almighty Power upon the Whirlwind rode,
And every Blast proclaim'd aloud
There is, there is, there is, a GOD.

Plague, Famine, Pestilence, and War,
Are in their Causes seen,
The true Originals appear
Before the Effects begin!

But Storms and Tempests are above our Rules,
Here our Philosophers are Fools.

The *Stagirite* himself could never show,
From whence, nor how they blow.

'Tis all sublime, 'tis all a Mystery,
They see no Manner how, nor Reason why;
All Sovereign Being is our amazing Theme,

'Tis all resolv'd to Power Supream;
From this first Cause our Tempest came,
And let the Atheists 't'pight of Sense blaspheme,
They can no room for Banter find,
Till they produce another Father for the Wind.

Satyr, thy Sense of Sovereign Being declare,
He made the mighty Prince o'th' Air,
And Devils recognize him by their Fear.

Ancient as Time, and elder than the Light,
E're the first Day, or antecedent Night,
E're Matter into settl'd Form became,
And long before Existence had a Name;

Before th' Expanse of indigested Space,
 While the vast *No-where* fill'd the room of place.
 Liv'd *the first Cause*, the first great *Where* and *Why*,
 Existing *to* and *from* Eternity,
 Of his Great Self, and of *Necessity*.

This I call God, that one great Word of Fear,
 At whose great Sound,

When from his mighty Breath 'tis eccho'd round,
 Nature pays Homage with a trembling Bow,
 And conscious Man would faintly disallow;
 The secret Trepidation racks the Soul,
 And while he says, no God, replies, thou Fool.

But call it what we will,
First Being it had, does Space and Substance fill.
 Eternal self-existing Power enjoy'd,
 And whatsoe'er is so, *that same is God*.

If then it should fall out, as who can tell,
 But that there is a Heaven and Hell,
 Mankind had best consider well for fear
 'T should be too late when their *Mistakes* appear;
 Such may in vain reform,
 Unless they do't before another Storm.

They tell us *Scotland* 'scap'd the Blast;
 No Nation else have been without a Taste:
 All *Europe* sure have felt the Mighty Shock,
 'T has been a Universal Stroke.
 But Heaven has other ways to plague the *Scots*,
As Poverty and Plots.
 Her Majesty confirms it, what she said,
 I plainly heard it, *tho' I'm dead*.

The dangerous Sound has rais'd me from my Sleep,

I can no longer Silence keep;

Here *Satyr's* thy Deliverance,

A Plot in *Scotland*, hatch'd in *France*,

And Liberty the Old Pretence.

Prelatick Power with Popish join,

The Queen's just Government to undermine;

This is enough to wake the Dead,

The Call's too loud, it never shall be said

The lazy *Satyr* slept too long,

When all the Nations Danger claim'd his Song;

Rise *Satyr* from thy Sleep of legal Death,

And reassume satyrick Breath;

What tho' to seven Years Sleep thou art confin'd,

Thou well may'st wake with such a Wind.

Such Blasts as these can seldom blow,

But they're both form'd above and heard below.

Then wake and warn us now the Storm is past,

Lest Heaven return with a severer Blast.

Wake and inform Mankind

Of Storms that still remain behind.

If from this Grave thou lift thy Head,

They'll surely mind one risen from the Dead:

Tho' *Moses* and the Prophets can't prevail,

A speaking *Satyr* cannot fail.

Tell 'em while secret Discontents appear,

There'll ne'er be *Peace and Union* here.

They that for Trifles so contend,

Have something farther in their End;

But let those hasty People know,

The Storms above reprove the Storms below;

And 'tis too often known;
That *Storms below* do *Storms above* fore-run;

They say this was a High-Church Storm,
Sent out the Nation to reform;
But th' Emblem left the Moral in the Lurch,
For't blew the Steeple down upon the Church.

From whence we now inform the People,
The Danger of the Church *is from the Steeple.*

And we've had many a bitter Stroke,
From Pinnacle and Weather-Cock;
From whence the Learned do relate,
That to secure the Church and State,
The Time will come when all the Town,
To save the Church, will pull the Steeple down.

Two Tempests are blown over, now prepare
For Storms of Treason and Intestine War.

The High-Church Fury to the North extends,
In haste to ruin all their Friends.

Occasional Conforming led the way,
And now Occasional Rebellion comes in play,
To let the wond'ring Nation know,
That High-Church Honesty's an empty Show,
A Phantasm of delusive Air,

That as Occasion serves can disappear,
And Loyalty's a senseless Phrase,
An empty Nothing which our Interest sways,
And as that suffers this decays.

Who dare the dangerous Secret tell,
That Church-Men can rebel.

Faction we thought was by the Whigs engross'd,
And *Forty One* was banter'd till the Jest was lost.

Bothwell and *Pentland-Hills* were fam'd,
And *Gilly-Cranky* hardly nam'd.

If living Poets dare not speak,

We that are Dead must Silence break ;

And boldly let them know the Time's at hand,
When Ecclesiastick Tempests shake the Land.

Prelatick Treason from the Crown divides,

And now Rebellion changes sides.

Their Volumes with their Loyalty may swell,

But in their Turns too they rebel ;

Can Plot, Contrive, Assassinate,

And spight of Passive Laws disturb the State,

Let fair Pretences fill the Mouths of Men,

No fair Pretence shall blind my Pen ;

They that *in such a Reign as this* rebel,

Must needs be in Confederacy with Hell.

Oppressions, Tyranny, and Pride,

May form some Reasons to divide ;

But where the Laws with open Justice rule,

He that rebels *must be both Knave and Fool*.

May Heaven the growing Mischief soon prevent,

And Traytors meet Reward in Punishment.

A
H Y M N
T O T H E
P I L L O R Y.

HAIL! *Hi'roglyphick State Machin,*
Contriv'd to punish Fancy in :
Men that are Men in thee can feel no Pain,
And all thy *Insignificants* disdain.
Contempt, that false new Word for Shame,
Is without Crime an empty Name.
A Shadow to amuse Mankind,
But never frights the wise or well-fix'd Mind;
Vertue despises Human Scorn,
And Scandals Innocence adorn.
Exalted on thy *Stool of State,*
What Prospect do I see of Sov'reign Fate;
How the *Inscrutables* of Providence,
Differ from our contracted Sense;
Here by the Errors of the Town,
The Fools look out, the Knaves look on,
Persons or Crimes find here the same Respect,
And Vice does Vertue oft correct,

The

The undistinguish'd Fury of the Street,
 With Mob and Malice Mankind greet:
 No Byas can the Rabble draw,
 But *Dirt* throws *Dirt* without respect to Merit or to Law.

Sometimes, the *Air of Scandal* to maintain,
Villains look from thy lofty Loops in vain:
 But who can judge of Crimes by Punishment,
 Where Parties rule, and L——s subservient.
 Justice with change of Int'rest learns to bow,
 And what was Merit once is Murther now:
 Actions receive their Tincture from the Times,
 And as they change are Vertues made, or Crimes.

Thou art the *State-Trap* of the Law,
 But neither canst keep Knaves nor honest Men in awe;
 These are too hard'n'd in Offence,
 And those upheld by Innocence.

How have thy *opening Vacancies* receiv'd,
 In every Age the Criminals of State?

And how has Mankind been deceiv'd,
 When they distinguish Crimes by Fate?
 Tell us, *Great Engine*, how to understand,
 Or reconcile the Justice of the Land;
 How *Bastwick*, *Pryn*, *Hunt*, *Hollingsby* and *Pye*,
 Men of unspotted Honesty;
 Men that had Learning, Wit, and Sense,
 And more than most Men have had since,
 Could equal Title to thee claim,
 With *Oats* and *Fuller*, Men of later Fame:
 Even the Learned *Selden* saw,
 A Prospect of thee thro' the Law:

He had thy *lofty Pinnacles* in view,
 But so much Honour never was thy due :
 Had the Great *Selden* Triumph'd on thy Stage,
 Selden the Honour of his Age ;
 No Man wou'd ever shun thee more,
 Or grudge to stand where *Selden* stood before.

Thou art no Shame to Truth and Honesty,
 Nor is the Character of such defac'd by thee,
 Who suffer by oppressive Injury.
 Shame, like the Exhalations of the Sun,
 Falls back where first the motion was begun :
 And he who for no Crime shall on thy Brows appear,
 Bears less Reproach than they who plac'd him there.

But if Contempt is on thy Face entail'd,
 Disgrace it self shall be asham'd ;
 Scandal shall blush that it has not prevail'd,
 To blast the Man it has defam'd.
 Let all that merit equal Punishment,
 Stand there with him, and we are all content.

There would the fam'd S——ll stand,
 With Trumpet of Sedition in his Hand,
 Sounding the first *Crusado* in the Land.

He from a Church of *England* Pulpit first
 All his dissenting Brethren curst ;
 Doom'd them to Satan for a Prey,
 And first found out *the shortest way* ;
 With him the wise Vice-Chancellor o'th' Press,
 Who, tho' our Printers Licenses defy,
 Willing to show his forwardness,
 Bless'd it with his Authority ;

He gave the Church's Sanction to the Work,
As *Popes* bless Colours for Troops which fight the *Turk*.

Doctors in Scandal these are grown,
For *red hot Zeal* and furious Learning known :
Professors in Reproach, and highly fit,
For *Juno's Academy*, *Billingsgate*.

Thou like a true-born *English Tool*,
Hast from their Composition stole,
And now art like to smart for being a Fool :
And as of *English Men* 'twas always meant,
They're better to improve than to invent ;
Upon their Model thou hast made,
A Monster makes the World afraid.

With them let all the States-men stand,
Who guide us with unsteady Hand :
Who Armies, Fleets, and Men betray ;
And ruin all the *shortest way*.

Let all those Soldiers stand in fight,
Who're willing to be paid and not to fight.
Agents, and Colonels, who false Musters bring,
To cheat their Country first, and then their King :
Bring all your *Coward Captains* of the Fleet ;
Lord ! What a Crowd will there be when they meet ?

They who let *Pointi* 'scape to *Brest*,
Who all the Gods of *Carthage* blest.

Those who betray'd our *Turkey Fleet* ;
Or injur'd *Talmash* sold at *Camaret*.

Who miss'd the Squadron from *Thoulon*,
And always came too late, or else too soon ;

All these are Heroes, whose great Actions claim
 Immortal Honours to their dying Fame;
 And ought not to have been deny'd,
 On thy great *Counterscarp* to have their Valour try'd.

Why have not these upon thy *spreading Stage*
 Tasted the keener Justice of the Age;
 If 'tis because their Crimes are too remote,
 Whom leaden-footed Justice has forgot?

Let's view the modern Scenes of Fame,
 If Men and Management are not the same;
 When Fleets go out with Money, and with Men,
 Just time enough to venture home again?

Navies prepar'd to guard th' insulted Coast,
 And Convoys settl'd when our Ships are lost.

Some Heroes lately come from Sea,
 If they were paid their due, should stand with thee;
 Papers too should their Deeds relate,

To prove the Justice of their Fate:
 Their Deeds of War at *Port Saint Mary's* done,
 And set the Trophies by them which they won:
 Let *Or —— d's* Declaration there appear,
 He'd certainly be pleas'd to see 'em there.

Let some good Limner represent,
 The ravish'd Nuns, the plunder'd Town,
 The *English* Honour how mis-spent;
 The shameful coming back, and little done.

The *Vigo* Men should next appear,
 To Triumph on thy *Theater*;
 They, who on board the great Galoons had been,
 Who robb'd the *Spaniards* first, and then the Queen:

Set

Set up the Praises to their Valour due,
How Eighty Sail had beaten Twenty Two.

Two Troopers so, and one Dragoon,
Conquer'd a *Spanish Boy* at *Pampalene*.

Yet let them *Or* ~~-----~~'s Conduct own,
Who beat them first on Shore, or little had been done:

What unknown Spoils from thence are come,
How much was brought away, *how little Home*,
If all the Thieves should on *thy Scaffold* stand
Who robb'd their Masters in Command:
The Multitude would soon out-do,
The City Crouds of *Lord Mayor Show*.

Upon thy *Penitential Stools*,
Some People should be plac'd for Fools:
As some for instance who, while they look on,
See others plunder all, and they get none.

Next the Lieutenant-General,
To get the Devil, lost the De'il and all;
And he some little Badge should bear,
Who ought, in Justice, to have hang'd 'em there:
This had his Honour more maintain'd,
Than all the Spoils at *Vigo* gain'd.

Then clap *thy wooden Wings* for Joy,
And greet the Men of Great Employ;
The Authors of the Nations discontent,
And Scandal of a Christian Government.
Jobbers, and *Brokers* of the City Stocks,
With Forty Thousand Tallies at their Backs;
Who make our Banks and Companies obey,
Or sink 'em all *the shortest way*.

Th' intrinsic Value of our Stocks,
 Is stated in their calculating Books;
 Th' Imaginary Prizes rise and fall,
 As they Command who tofs the Ball;
 Let 'em upon thy lofty Turrets stand,
 With *Bear-Skins* on the Back, *Debentures* in the Hand,
 And write in Capitals upon the Post,
 That here they should remain,
 Till this *Anigma* they explain,
 How Stocks should fall when Sales surmount the Cost,
 And rise again when Ships are lost.

Great *Monster of the Law*, exalt thy Head,
 Appear no more in Masquerade,
 In homely Phrase express thy Discontent,
 And move it in th' approaching Parliament:
 Tell 'em how Paper went instead of Coin,
 With Int'rest Eight *per Cent.* and Discount Nine.
 Of *Irish* Transport Debts unpaid,
 Bills false endors'd, and long Accounts unmade.
 And tell them all the Nation hopes to see,
 They'll send the Guilty down to thee,
 Rather than those who write their History.
 Then bring those Justices upon thy Bench,
 Who vilely break the Laws they should defend;
 And upon Equity intrench,
 By punishing the Crimes they will not mend.
 Set every vicious Magistrate
 Upon thy sumptuous Chariot of the State,
 There let 'em all in Triumph ride,
 Their Purple and their Scarlet laid aside.

Let

Let none such *Bridewell* Justices protect,
 As first debauch the Whores which they correct:
 Such who with Oaths and Drunk'ness sit,
 And punish far less Crimes than they commit:
 These certainly deserve to stand
 With Trophies of Authority in either Hand.

Upon *thy Pulpit* set the drunken Priest,
 Who turns the Gospel to a bawdy Jest;
 Let the Fraternity degrade him there,
 Lest they like him appear:
 There let him his *Memento Mori* Preach,
 And by Example, not by Doctrine, Teach.
 Next bring the lewder Clergy there,
 Who Preach those Sins down which *they can't forbear*;
 Those *Sons of God* who every day go in,
 Both to the *Daughters* and the *Wives* of Men;
 There let 'em stand to be the Nations Jest,
 And save the Reputation of the rest.

A——ll, who for the Gospel left the Law,
 And deep within the Clefts of Darkness saw;
 Let him be an Example made,
 Who durst the Parson's Province so invade;
 To his new Ecclesiastick Rules
 We owe the Knowledge that we all are Fools:
 Old *Charon* shall no more dark Souls convey,
A——ll has found the shortest way:
 Vain is your Funeral Pomp and Bells,
 Your Grave-Stones, Monuments and Knells;
 Vain are the Trophies of the Grave,
A——ll shall all that Foppery save;

And

And, to the Clergies great Reproach;
 Shall change the *Hearse* into a *fiery Coach*:
 What Man the learned Riddle can receive,
 Which none can answer, and yet none believe;
 Let him recorded on *thy Lists* remain,
 Till he shall Heav'n by his own Rules obtain.

If a poor Author has embrac'd *thy Wood*,
 Only because he was not understood,
 They punish Mankind but by halves,
 Till they stand there,
 Who false to their own Principles appear:
 And cannot understand themselves.
 Those *Nimshites*, who with furious Zeal drive on,
 And build up *Rome* to pull down *Babylon*;
 The real Authors of *the shortest way*,
 Who for Destruction, not Conversion Pray:
 There let those Sons of Strife remain,
 Till this Church Riddle they explain;
 How at Dissenters they can raise a Storm,
 But would not have them all conform;
 For *there* their certain Ruin would come in,
 And Moderation, *which they hate*, begin.
 Some Church-men next should grace thy Pews,
 Who talk of Loyalty they never use;
 Passive Obedience well becomes thy Stage,
 For both have been the Banter of the Age.
 Get them but once within thy reach,
 Thou'lt make them practise what they us'd to Teach.

Next bring some Lawyers to *thy Bar*,
 By *Innuendo* they might all stand there;

There

There let them expiate that Guilt,
 And pay for all that Blood their Tongues ha' spilt;
 These are the Mountebanks of State,
 Who by the *slight of Tongue* can Crimes create,
 And dress up Trifles in the *Robes of Fate*.

}

The *Mastives* of a Government,
 To worry and run down the Innocent;
 The Engines of Infernal Wit,
 Cover'd with Cunning and Deceit:
Satan's sublimest Attribute they use,
 For first they tempt, and then accuse;
 No Vows or Promises can bind their Hands,
 Submissive Law obedient stands:
 When Power concurs, and lawless Force stands by,
 He's Lunatick that looks for Honesty.

There sat a Man of mighty Fame,
 Whose Actions speak him plainer than his Name;
 In vain he struggl'd, he harangu'd in vain,
 To bring in *Whipping Sentences* again:
 And to debauch a milder Government,
 With *abdicated kinds of Punishment*.

No Wonder he should Law despise,
 Who *Jesus Christ* himself denies;
 His Actions only now direct,
 What we when he is made a J——e expect:
 Set L——ll next to his Disgrace,
 With *Whitney's Horses* staring in his Face;
 There let his Cup of Pennance be kept full,
 Till he's less noise, insolent and dull.

When all these Heroes have past o'er thy Stage,
 And thou hast been the Satyr of the Age;

Wait

Wait then a while for all those Sons of Fame,
Whom present Pow'r has made too great to name:
Fenc'd from thy Hands, they keep our Verse in awe,
Too great for Satyr, and too great for Law.

As they their Commands lay down,
They all shall pay their Homage to thy *Cloudy Throne*:
And till within thy reach they be,
Exalt them in Effigie.

The Martyrs of the by-past Reign,
For whom new Oaths have been prepar'd in vain;
She ———'s Disciple first by him trepan'd,
He for a K ——— and they for F ———, should stand:
Tho' some affirm he ought to be excus'd,
Since to this day he had refus'd;
And this was all the Frailty of his Life,
He damn'd his Conscience to oblige his Wife.
But spare that Priest, whose tottering Conscience knew
That if he took but one he'd perjure two:
Bluntly resolv'd he wou'd not break 'em both,
And swore by G ———d he'd never take the Oath;
Hang him, he can't be fit for thee,
For his *unusual Honesty*.

Thou *Speaking Trumpet* of Mens Fame,
Enter in every Court thy Claim;
Demand 'em all, for they are all thy own,
Who Swear to Three Kings, but are true to none.
Turn-Coats of all sides are thy due,
And he who once is false is never true:
To day can swear, to morrow can abjure,
For Treachery's a Crime no Man can cure:

Such without scruple, for the Time to come,
 May Swear to all the Kings in Christendom;
 But he's a mad Man will rely
 Upon their lost Fidelity.

They that in vast Employments rob the State;
 Let them in *thy Embraces* meet their Fate;
 Let not the Millions they by Fraud obtain,
 Protect 'em from the Scandal, or the Pain:

They who from mean beginnings grow
 To vast Estates, but *God knows how*;
 Who carry untold Sums away,
 From little places, with but little Pay:

Who costly Palaces erect,
 The Thieves that built them to protect;
 The *Gardens, Grotto's, Fountains, Walks, and Groves*;
 Where Vice triumphs in Pride, and Lawless Loves:
 Where mighty Luxury and Drunk'ness reign'd,
 Profusely spend what they prophanely gain'd:
 Tell 'em their *Mene Tekel's* on the Wall,
 Tell 'em the *Nation's Money* paid for all.

Advance *thy double Front* and show,
 And let us both the Crimes and Persons know:
 Place them aloft upon *thy Throne*,
 Who slight the Nation's Business for their own;
 Neglect their Posts, in spight of double Pay,
 And run us all in Debt *the shortest way*.

Great Pageant, change thy dirty Scene,
 For on thy Steps some Ladies may be seen;
 When Beauty stoops upon thy Stage to show
 She laughs at all the humble Fools below.

Set *Sapho* there, whose Husband paid for Cloaths
Two Hundred Pounds a Week in *Furbulo's*:
There in her Silks and Scarlets let her shine,
She's beauteous all without, all Whore within.

Next let gay *URANIA* ride,
Her Coach and fix attending by her side :
Long has she waited, but in vain.
The City Homage to obtain :
The sumptuous Harlot long'd t' insult the *Chair*,
And triumph o'er our City Beauties there.
Here let her haughty Thoughts be gratifi'd,
In Triumph let her ride.

Let *DIADORA* next appear,
And all that want to know her see her there.
What tho' she's not a *true-born English Wh—re* ?
French Harlots have been here before ;
Let not the Pomp nor Grandeur of her State
Prevent the Justice of her Fate,
But let her an Example now be made
To Foreign *Wh—s*, who spoil the *English Trade*.

Let *Fletumacy* with his pompous Train,
Attempt to rescue her in vain ;
Content at last to see her shown,
Let him despise her Wit, and find his own :
Tho' his Inheritance of Brains was small,
Dear bought Experience will instruct us all.

Claim 'em, thou *Herald of Reproach*,
Who with uncommon Lewdness will debauch ;
Let C—— upon thy Borders spend his Life,
'Till he recants the Bargain with his Wife :

And till this Riddle both explain,
 How neither can themselves contain ;
 How Nature can on both sides run so high
 As neither side can neither side supply :
 And so in Charity agree,
 He keeps two Brace of Whores, two Stallions she :

What need of *Satyr* to reform the Town ?
 Or Laws to keep our Vices down ?
 Let 'em to *Thee* due Homage pay,
 This will reform us all *the shortest way*.
 Let 'em to *thee* bring all the Knaves and Fools,
 Vertue will guide the rest by Rules ;
 They'll need no treacherous Friends, no breach of Faith ;
 No hir'd Evidence with their infecting Breath ;
 No Servants Masters to betray,
 Or Knights o'th' Post, who swear for Pay ;
 No injur'd Author 'll on thy Steps appear,
 Not such as *won't be Rogues*, but such *as are*.

The first Intent of Laws
 Was to correct th' Effect, and check the Cause ;
 And all the Ends of Punishment,
 Were only future Mischiefs to prevent.
 But Justice is inverted when
 Those Engines of the Law,
 Instead of pinching vicious Men,
 Keep honest ones in awe ;
 Thy Business is, as all Men know,
 To punish Villains, not to make Men so.

Whenever then thou art prepar'd,
 To prompt that Vice thou should'st reward,

And by the Terrors of thy *grisly Face*,
 Make Men turn Rogues to shun Disgrace ;
 The End of thy Creation is destroy'd,
 Justice expires of course, and Law's made void.

What are thy Terrors? that for fear of thee,
 Mankind should dare to sink their Honesty?
 He's bold to Impudence that dare turn Knave
 The Scandal of thy Company to save :
 He that will Crimes he never knew confess,
 Does more than if he knew those Crimes transgress:
 And he that fears thee more than to be base,
 May want a *Heart*, but does not want a *Face*.

Thou like the Devil dost appear,
 Blacker than really thou art by far :
 A wild Chimerick Notion of Reproach,
 Too little for a Crime, for none too much :
 Let none th' Indignity resent,
 For Crime is all the Shame of Punishment.

Thou *Bugbear* of the Law stand up and speak,
 Thy long misconstru'd Silence break,
 Tell us who 'tis upon *thy Ridge* stands there,
 So full of Fault, and yet so void of Fear;
 And from the Paper in his Hat,
 Let all Mankind be told for what :

Tell them it was because he was too bold,
 And told those Truths which shou'd not ha' been told.
 Extol the Justice of the Land,
 Who punish what they will not understand.

Tell them he stands exalted there
 For speaking what we wou'd not hear;
 And yet he might ha' been secure,
 Had he said less, or wou'd he ha' said more.
 Tell them that this is his Reward,
 And worse is yet for him prepar'd,
 Because his foolish Vertue was so nice
 As not to sell his Friends according to his Friends Advice:

And thus he's an Example made,
 To make Men of their Honesty afraid,
 That for the Time to come they may
 More willingly their Friends betray;
 Tell 'em the M—— that plac'd him here,
 Are Sc——ls to the Times,
 Are at a loss to find his Guilt,
 And can't commit his Crimes.

A

H Y M N

TO

VICTORY.

TO THE

QUEEN.

MAdam, *The Glories of Your Happy Reign*
Are seal'd from Heav'n, and Hell resists in vain:
You're doubly blest with strange exalted Joy,
At Home with Peace, Abroad with Victory.
If this is but the Earnest of Your Fame,
To what strange Heights will Heav'n exalt Your Name!
And what Seraphick Thoughts must fill Your Mind,
When You reflect on Glories still behind!

Your Mighty Predecessor strove in vain
This very happy Moment to obtain:
Through Fields of Blood and slaughter'd Armies fought,
But always miss'd the happy Prize he sought.
His dreadful Sword in numerous Battels try'd,
And push'd at Vict'ry hard, but Heav'n deny'd.

*In vain he might the distant Nymph pursue;
The Case is plain, sh' has been reserv'd for You.*

*If, Madam, Heav'n shou'd now go on to bless
Your Hands with Strength, Your Armies with Success;
Who knows but his Commission too may come,
That You should break the Yoke of Christendom.
Who knows but Female Glories may advance
And break the strong usurping Chains of France;
Religion, Law, and Liberty, restore;
And do such wond'rous things as ne'er were done before.*

*Lewis may then with Infamy come down,
With all the borrow'd Glories of his Crown,
And offer up his Trophies at Your Throne.
The haughty Monarch may with Grief disdain
That Female Pow'r that he'd resist in vain.
And he that William's Terrors cou'd withstand,
You'd grieve to fall by those that You Command:
'Tis twice to die to die by Woman's Hand.*

*Madam, The Hopes of this exalts Your Height;
This makes Your Subjects smile, Your Soldiers fight.
Who knows the Force of Your Victorious Charms,
Encl'd with English Hearts and English Arms?
Monarch plac'd like You in such a Seat,
And so belov'd, was never Conquer'd yet.
Your Glory makes Your Subject's Valour rise,
He's pleas'd with this that in Your Service dies:
With Satisfaction he resigns his Breath,
That he exalts Your Glory in his Death.
Your Subjects, Madam, by such Influence led,
Where shall they not Your dreadful Banners spread!*

A
H Y M N
T O
V I C T O R Y.

T O T H E
Q U E E N.

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 That he exalts Your Glory in his Death.
 Such Subjects, Madam, by such Influence led,
 Where shall they not Your dreadful Banners spread!

*See how the Nations Your Assistance own,
 And bend their Laurels underneath Your Throne!
 Your Conquering English Legions spread Your Fame,
 And when they kill Your Foes repeat Your Name.
 Your happy Genius to their Valour joyn'd,
 Seems Heav'n and Earth to Victory design'd.
 Never was such an English Army seen,
 Never with such a Cause, and such a Queen.*

*See how the ransom'd Nations bow their Heads
 To You that send us out and him that leads!
 Their thankful Sacrifices crowd Your Throne,
 You save their Kingdoms and protect Your own.
 The suppliant Princes stand about Your Gate,
 And Austrian Monarchs kiss Your glorious Feet.
 The steady Measures which You now pursue
 Protect their antient Crowns, and give them new.*

*Th' Imperial Throne Your pow'rful Troops restore,
 Spain seeks from You her rich Peruvian Shore;
 Savoy Your generous Aid for Safety prays,
 And Portugal for Your Assistance stays.
 Sure Heav'n reserv'd the Glories of this Isle
 To this blest Hour, to You reserv'd the Spoil.
 Your Arms the Gallick Glory must subdue;
 Peace waits on Conquest, Vict'ry waits on You.*

*Victorious Marlbro' Conquers in Your Name;
 His is the Conquest, Madam, Yours the Fame.
 Your steady Councils and discerning Sight,
 Lets loose his glorious Sword, and shews it where to fight.*

*The daring Hearts that in Your Cause appear,
 They fight the Battel, but 'tis You make War:
 Their Courage may exalt the English Name,
 But 'tis the Scepter helps the Sword to Fame.
 Your wiser Conduct settles their Success;
 Heav'n always so surrounds the Hand he'll bless.
 The Agency of Sovereign Wisdom shines
 In all the parts of Your sublime Designs.
 Such Order must a suited End afford,
 At Home Your Councils, and Abroad their Sword.*

*The wond'ring Nations turn their Eyes to You,
 And strangely ask what Heav'n intends to do!
 Such Blessings which a few past Days can show,
 Are more than any single Reign shou'd know.
 Amaz'd with daily Conquests, the Surprise
 Sometimes our Hope, sometimes our Faith denies.
 New Wonders crowd the Nation's glatted Ears
 Beyond the Atheist's Brags, the Christian's Pray'rs.
 A Man could hardly have the Face to go
 And ask such Gifts as Heav'n and You bestow.*

*And now, among the Suppliants of Your Train,
 That seek Your Aid, and seek it not in vain,
 Religion comes to own Your Royal Cares,
 And shew the grateful Blessing She prepares.*

*Too Widow'd Dame, disconsolate and sad,
 Threw by the Sable Weed she wore when William dy'd:
 For when She saw the mighty Spirit here,
 She felt new Hopes, and quite forgot to fear.*

With

With Joy she sought new Refuge in Your Throne,
 And found You joyn'd her Safety to Your own:
 With Sacred Zeal she fill'd Your Royal Breast,
 To rescue Kingdoms ruin'd and oppress:
 She fir'd Your Soul with Motions so Divine,
 'Twas she that sent Your Army from the Rhine.
 From You to glorious high Ascents she flew,
 Where she the mighty Actions kept in view,
 And brought those Triumphs back that are Your due.

The Humble Muses now their Tribute pay,
 And sing the Joys of this Triumphant Day.
 And now, the meanest of the inspir'd Train,
 Suppress'd by Fate, and humbl'd with Disdain,
 From all the Joys of Art and Life exempt,
 Debas'd in Name, and cover'd with Contempt,
 With Chains of Injury and Scandal bound
 In dark Recess, Your mighty Influence found;
 So strong the powerful Charm, so fierce the Fire,
 The Muse must sing, or in his Verse expire.
 He sings the Glories of Your happy Reign,
 And humbly then retreats disconsolate again,
 Under the Blast of Personal Pique to die,
 Shaded from all the Blessings of Your Eye.

A
H Y M N, &c.

HAil Victory! *Thou Stranger to our Land;*
 Thou coy long-courted Mistress of Mankind,
 Debauch'd by Tyrants, ravish'd by the Strong,
 Where hast thou absent been so long?
 Why hast thou fled from *English* Arms,
 And why abroad so lavish of thy Charms?
 Thou beauteous Wanderer from these Isles,
 Where hast thou laid thy dear-bought Spoils?
 How hast thou fled from Justice and our Cause,
 Abandon'd Honesty and Laws,
 Encourag'd mighty Injury and Guilt,
 And joyn'd thy Triumphs to the Blood they spilt!
 Thy Chariot has with wonted Fraud
 Allur'd our Champions to Attempts abroad:
 We thought we had thy Meaning understood;
 And courted thee thro' Seas of *English* Blood:
 But when we thought thy Friendship sure,
 More tempting Objects does thy fickle Mind allure:
 Jilted we saw thy Shadow fly,
 And court the Squadrons of our Enemy:
 Yet all thy Errors thus we overlook,
 Freely thy Banishment revoke,

Welcome

Welcome thee with our open Hand,
Hail Victory! *Thou Stranger to our Land.*

Thou art a sullen airy Wight,
On ev'ry small Affront thou tak'st thy Flight,
For ev'ry Trifle wilt be gone,
And hardly art with strong Entreaties won :
A partial Nymph! that scorns to smile but where
The unfesisted Baits of Power are ;
Thy mercenary Favours dost divide,
Not to the best but strongest side.

Invading Numbers are thy Bait,
Too oft on potent Treason thou canst wait,
Bestow'st thy Favours without sense of Right,
And basely stoop'st to fawn on Men of Might.
How often have we seen thee try'd ?
And Rebels get thee over to their side ?
How often have thy Banners been display'd,
O'er abject Truth, and Right betray'd ?
How have oppressing Legions rais'd their Fame
On thy abus'd deluded Name ?
And Tyrants boldly ruin all Mankind,
Because thy partial Name's their Friend.

Thou formidable strong Pretence,
That stand'st for Law, and serv'st instead of Sense ;
That mak'st the stupid World content
To take thy Word instead of Argument.
We make our Reason to thy Rules submit,
Thou can'st supply the want of Wit,
In thee the widest Contradictions hit.

No Words against thee can prevail,
 Thy Arguments can never fail:
 Conquest the worst of Treasons sanctifies,
 And where *Victoria* speaks the World complies.

Thou hast the strangest Character;
 Thou art the Cause as well as End of War!
 So many Contradictions blind thy Sight,
 Thou'rt always wrong, and yet art always right.
 What Villanies are acted in thy Name?
 How do thy Conqu'ring Troops the World inflame?

What ravag'd Towns in Flames appear,
 Excus'd by Rules of Victory and War?
 How do the Monarchs who debauch thy Name,
 Value themselves upon thy ill-got Fame!
 Call themselves Great, Immortal, and Divine,
 When all their wild Idolatry is thine!

Had Victory to Vertue been but true,
Lewis! thy Triumphs had been few:
 But Victory, debauch'd by Art,
 Makes Fate comply, and seem to act a part;
 And by her mighty Influence
 With Fraud and Force usurps on Providence;
 Gives vast Success where there's no Vertue due,
 And makes the Shades of Valour pass for true.

In former Times thy Fame was known:
 Before thou wast so mercenary grown,
 Thy Favours were impartially bestow'd
 To Men of Valour, *less to Men of Blood.*

Then *England* shar'd thee in her Wars,
 And her *Black Prince* engag'd thee to be hers,
 At *Crescy*, *Agin-Court*, and at *Poitiers*.

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 'Twas

'Twas then thy Vertue might be call'd thy own;
 By Battel only to be won ;
 By dint of Sword and *English* Valour fought,
 By *English* Valour hither brought.
 And had our Vertue not decay'd,
 Perhaps thou might'st till now ha' staid.

Now thou'rt become the *Whore of VVar*,
 Strowling with Bully *Mars* and Coward *Fear*,
 Thou tak'st the vile degen'rate part,
 A Prostitute to Stratagem and Art ;
 Submitt'st to Treason, Avarice, and Blood,
 And art no more for Justice understood.
 By modern Methods art procur'd,
 The longest Purse subdues the longest Sword.
Trick, Sham, Contrivance, and Surprise;
 In these thy new Acquirement lies ;
Number, not *Valour*, now prevails,
Art wins, and *Courage* oftner fails :
 He Conquers soonest that's the most afraid ;
 The Camp's a Market, and the War's a Trade.

Tell us, returning Nymph, the latent Cause
 Why thou thy Fav'rite *England* do'st forsake?

Where thou had'st always just Applause,
 Could always Heroes find, or Heroes make.
 In Civil Broils the Goddess took the side
 Where truest Valour could her Chariot guide,
 Quite unconcern'd as to the Cause of War ;
 'Twas Fighting only that contented her.
 When Battail joyn'd, and furious Squadrons met,
 She hover'd o'er the bloody Spot

Without

Without examining the Cause;
Bestow'd her Lawrels by her Martial Laws.

But when she came to see
How ill they us'd their dear-bought Victory;
Asham'd of those she had carefs'd before,
She fled for Forty Years, and came no more.

To *Germany* from hence she fled,
With Pleasure there she us'd to tread;
At *Leipsick*, *Lutzen*, *Nordlingen*, and *Prague*,
She triumph'd o'er the *Austrian* League:
There she the Tomb of great *Gustavus* saw,
Who chain'd her to his Saddle-bow,
Who made his Valour be her Law,
And her Amazement too.

So swift his Conquest, so secure his Hand,
Not Victory her self could him withstand.
Had she the Lawrels for his Foes design'd,
Had she been partially inclin'd;
So closely and so boldly he pursu'd,
Ev'n Victory her self was there subdu'd.

The angry Goddess, loth to be confin'd,
Strove to bestow a Lawrel from his Head:
But his impetuous Valour scorn'd the Deed,
And ravish'd Victory against her Mind.
The haughty Nymph with his new Fame oppress'd,
The mighty Conqu'ring King address'd;
Here's Victory and Death, said she;
If you will Conquer you must die.
I will, th' undaunted Prince reply'd;
So Conquer'd Victory, and dy'd.

To *France* the Goddess went from hence;
 They deify'd her there, and call'd her Providence:
 Pleas'd to be thus caref'd, she pitch'd her Tent;
 And with their Armies always went.

Young *Nassau* courted her in vain,
 The *Dutch* would not defray the Charges of her Train,
 She lik'd the Youth, his Valour pleas'd her much,
 But something out of Humour with the *Dutch*:

Yet she agreed their sinking State to save,
 Joyn'd the young Prince at *Naerden* and the *Grave*;

Bravely she led him on,
 At *VVorden*, at *Senef*, and *Bonn*;
 But, baulk'd by *Germany* and *Spain*,
 She left him, and return'd to *France* again:

Then stay'd so long upon the *Rhine*,
 'Twas thought she had been married to *Turenne*:
Conde enjoy'd her once or twice,
 But left her to possess his meaner Vice.

And *Luxemburgh* employ'd her so,
 He hardly gave her time to go.
Schomberg her fickle Favour won,
 But could not keep her for his braver Son.

At last *Britannia* call'd her o're,
 To land with *VVilliam* on her *Western* Shore.
 She came, to *Albion's* brighter Cliffs, she came;
 Traytors and Cowards startled at her Name:
 And when they heard 'twas *VVilliam* brought her o're,
 They never shew'd their Faces more.
 His strong advanc'd Battalions she led on,
 And Armies fled like Mists before the Sun.

Tyran-

Tyrannick Legions at her Name submit ;
 Like Providence, the Work was all compleat :
 Where're the Hero went, she led the way,
 Where're the Hero went, she got the Day.

Conquest out-rid his Troops, and Fear
 Gave Victory without a War:

'Twas then the Goddess made her Dwelling here.

She plac'd her Image up in ev'ry Street,
 She led our Armies, *nay* she led our Fleet:

For then we saw no Cowards there,
 And Victory had left no room for Fear.

She led our glorious Legions on,
 And follow'd *William* to the *Boyne*:

Nay, when *Britannia* call'd him home,
 She let him come.

She stay'd behind to propagate his Fame,
 And Conquer'd *Ireland* in his Name.

Tell us, returning Nymph, the Causes why
 Thy Blessing did from *England* fly?

She went with *William* from our Land,

We thought sh' had been at his Command ;

And doubted not but she'd come home again :

But ah ! she left him at *Landen*.

Thro' Seas of Blood he thought to fetch her home,

But the too partial Nymph would never come :

At *Namure* once, by Force, he made his way,

And fetch'd her home, but could not make her stay.

And seeing he in vain pursu'd,

He let unsettl'd Peace the War conclude.

Now tell us, Nymph, *and yet forbear,*
 The Causes of thy Flight,
 Of which so many blush to hear,
 So few will dare to write.

Was it that Traytors dwelt at home,
 And Cowards went to War,
 Some sold the Fleet, the Army some,
 And some were Rogues for fear.
 Some stay'd at home our Councils to betray,
 Some bravely went abroad to run away.

The few that had some Courage brought,
 First damn'd the Cause, and for the Money fought.
 The awkward Heroes made the War a Trade,
 And Fought as dully as they had been paid:
 And Thousands, *which was worst of all,*
 Receiv'd their Pay, and never Fought at all.

Britannia! What was in thy Fate,
 That always found thee Ra——s to pawn thy State?
 Thy Noble Sons regard no Camp or Fleet,
 But Bully *France* in Chocolate;
 Beg Places to betray the Land,
 And steer the State they cannot understand.

These are the Men that banish'd Victory,
 That made her abdicate and fly;
 These made the glorious *William* fight in vain;
 Shew'd him the Lawrels he could ne'er obtain:
 These made him weary of the War,
 And fill'd his Royal Heart with anxious Care,
 Made him content with meaner Terms of Peace,
 And short'ned all our Happiness.

These are the Men that held the Nation's Hands,

That thwarted his more just Commands;

That sunk the Money, and the War delay'd,

The fatallest way of being betray'd.

Had his Successor been abus'd like him,

Not Heav'n it self cou'd Victory obtain.

He never form'd a proper Scheme,

But they unform'd it all again.

If he Commission'd them to fight,

They kept the Enemy out of fight;

But if the Money was in the Command,

They'd always be at hand.

No Wonder Vict'ry ne'er return'd again;

No Wonder *William* fought in vain;

Nothing but Miracle can save a Land,

Where Knaves must execute what Fools Command.

Thus Victory from *England* fled,

And pale Miscarriage manag'd in her stead;

Abortive Vapours on our Councils fate,

Untimely Devils hover'd o'er the State.

The native Vipers of the groaning Land,

Eat out the Vitals of their Parent Isle;

And while she fed them with her open Hand,

Abandon'd her to Rogues, and shar'd the Spoil.

Had not the fatal Charm dissolv'd at last,

All our Deliv'rance had been past.

Not changing Hands could break the horrid Frame,

Ro——s of all Parties are the same,

From crafty L——s to empty N——.

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Not *William's* Death, nor *Ann's* succeeding Power,
 Before the high appointed Hour,
 Cou'd loose the Witchcraft of our Fate,
 Open the Nation's Eyes, or save the State.
 In the old Road of Mischief we went on,
 And made our wonted Haste to be undone :
 Miscarriages from every Corner come,
 Knaves act abroad as Fools direct at home.

Wonder no more, ye Men of Sense !
 Miscall not our Misfortunes Providence !
 'Twas not Disaster made our Voy'ges vain,
 'Twas all Contrivance and Design.

The busie States-men juggle and debate,
 And make a Jest of *England's* Fate :
 Parties decide the Nation's Doom ;
 Fighting abroad's a Jest, *The War's at home.*
 Navies and Armies may themselves defeat,
 It all concurs to form the gen'ral Cheat.
 The embattl'd People now in fides appear,
 And all's embroil'd in Party-War.

Where will *Britannia's* Mischiefs end ?
 Who shall her ancient Glories now defend ?
 While Parties, Prejudice, and Pride,
 From Peace and Honesty divide.

Armies of *Tookites* intercept our Peace,
 And too much Law's the Nation's known Disease.
 Occasional Contention leads the way,
 And Zeal design'd Religion for a Prey :
 But they that fav'd the Nation got the Day.

The fatal Blast confounded all their Powers,
 Blew *R——r* and *S——r* out of Doors ;

And

And N——m, when his Supporters fell,
 Alas, what Pen the fatal News can tell!
 Sunk Soul-less, down the mighty Bubble fate,
 Like the meer Tool of State:

And he that us'd his Honour like his Whore,
 Was just as senseless now, as useless long before.
 His *Conscio sibi* star'd him in the Face,
 And by his Silence shew'd his Guilt and Grace:
 For tho' his struggling Passions might be strong;
 This made him blush, that made him hold his Tongue:

Old S——r govern'd not his Spleen so well,
 But like a mighty strong *Colossus* fell:
 He thought his Int'rest fix'd, and kept his Seat,
 And knew his Merit better than his Fate:
 Tho' had his Senses been in exercise,
 His Fall cou'd ne'er ha' been the least Surprise;
 Since any Man that had but half his Crime,
 Must needs approve his Fate, and own 'twas time.

The tott'ring Engine, by his Pride oppress'd,
 Fell all Mens Scorn, and ev'ry Wise-man's Jest.
 The Breath of Royal Justice blew him down,
 And plac'd him at a safer distance from the Crown.
 Envy so swell'd his guilty Breast with Rage,
 Nature cou'd hardly bear his Pride and Age:
 Oppress'd with Madness, and oppress'd with Years,
 He mixt his hearty Curses with repining Tears.
 So Cowards, by their Guilt and Fear surpriz'd,
 Want Courage but to see themselves despis'd.
 Old R—— with equal Guilt and Shame,
 Shunn'd the Disorders to preserve his Fame:

The haughty Chit, tho' swelling with Disdain,
 Cou'd better his high Discontents contain,
 And in sedater Terms his Grievs explain.
 With steadier Thoughts did his Disgusts engage,
 Neither with *F*——'s Spleen nor *S*——'s Rage,
 Rallies his Master-Politicks to try
 Another Cast for Government, or die.

In vain the subtil Wretch embroils this Isle;
 In vain he'd *Whig* and *Tory* reconcile:
 He courts th' Extremes of Parties, and in spight
 That he may more divide, wou'd some unite:
 Such humble Thoughts his Policy creates,
 And strives to League with those we know he hates.
 But common Heads his shallow Thoughts explain,
 And all his vast Contrivance is in vain.

The Royal Blast the Party overtakes,

The deep Contrivance breaks.

The Queen to Peace the willing Land perswades,
 And with that Word their deep Design invades:
 The willing Lords close with the Royal Word,
 And damn'd the Bill as cruel and absurd.

'Twas now that Victory return'd:
 The Flame of Civil Strife too long had burn'd.
 The Queen too plainly saw the vile Design:

Her Majesty blew up the Mine.

And now her *Victory* is so compleat,
 No *Tookite* dare the Royal Word debate.

Well may our Armies fight abroad,
 Well may the World their Services applaud;
 From hence the Springs of Conduct come,
 Courage Abroad, Fidelity at Home.

The Queen at Home a greater Conquest gains,
Greater than this on the *Bavarian* Plains :

There she the *German's* Foes has overthrown,
But here she vanquishes her own.

The heady, false, and furious Statesmen fall,
And Moderation rules us all :

A flowing Cash, a quiet State :
Can such a Nation fear an adverse Fate,
By able Statesmen guided here,
And able gallant Generals guide the War.

This Conquest nobly she has gain'd,
And Victory's come home, *That Stranger to our Land.*

Hail Goddess! Welcome to thy old Abode!
Be thou the Guardian of the Nation's Good.

Let Civil-Strife and Party-Fire
Under thy weighty Hand expire :
Under thy Banner let us always Fight ;
Conquer Abroad, at Home unite.
Let all that would our private Peace molest,
Be by thy solid Arms suppress'd.
Then to the Field our Legions may advance.
This is the only way to Conquer *France.*

'Tis done! The glorious News is just come o're;
She Conquers there that Conquer'd here before.

Hail Victory! the welcome Blow !
How great, how mighty, is the Overthrow !
So shall he Conquer that for *England* fights :
So shall the People Conquer that unites.

'Tis done! the Sound of Victory was heard
As soon as *Marlbro's* Conquering Troops appear'd.

Soon as he drew the *English* Sword,
 And gave Queen *ANN* for the *Victorious Word*,
Victoria let her Face be known,
 And gave him Earnest that she was his own.
 At *Schellemburg* the scatt' red Troops took Flight;
Valour it self to Vict'ry must submit;
 And *English* Banners there, thro' Seas of Blood,
 To *Danow's* Stream the routed *French* pursu'd.

Danubius joins her willing Streams, to save
 The vanquish'd Troops, tho' conquer'd, *Brave*.
 Safely she landed them on t'other Shore,

But bid them tempt her Waves no more:
 She wou'd not promise them to join
 Against those Troops that once subdu'd the *Boyne*.

Flush'd with Success, the *English* Soldiers fly
 "To Battel, on the Wings of Victory:
 Their own intrepid Courage leads them on;
The Omen's good, they know the Day's their own:
 Possess't with secret Joy, the Conquest's sure:
They only fight to make it more secure.

An *English-man* has something in his Blood,
 Makes him love Fighting *better than his Food*;
 He will be fullen, lay him down, and die,
 Unless he can *come at* his Enemy:
 But, *let him loose*, you fill his Soul with Joy,
 He's ravish'd with the Thoughts of *Victory*.
Let him but fight, give but his Valour vent,
 And if he's beaten *he's as well content*.
He smiles and dies, wishes the Victor Joy,
 Pleas'd with that Valour does himself destroy.

The Gust of Battel so his Temper hits,
 He's never out of Humour when he fights.
 From whence his Foe's of this Advantage sure,
 A Word will generous Articles procure.
 The Enemy he Conquers he'll defend,
 And will for ever after be his Friend.
 But while he fights for Life and *Victory*,
 No *Africk Lyon's* half so fierce as he:
 No Bounds his native Vigour can restrain,
 He's more a Fury than a Man;
 With such intrepid steadiness of Mind,
 As Nature has for Victory design'd.
 Battel was always *English-men's* Delight;
 They'd always Conquer *if you'd let 'em fight*.
 And if by Coward Captains they're restrain'd,
 They hate the Men as much as the Command.
 Their own superior Courage lets them know,
 They *Can* and *Dare* what no Man else *will do*.

Great *Tallard*, let thy Soul no more repine;
 'Tis no Reproach to yield to *English-men*:
 Advise thy Master, e'er it be too late,
 Never to prompt *their Rage*, nor tempt *his Fate*.
 They always Conquer'd, 'tis *their due by Blood*;
 If they ha' leave to fight they ne'er can be withstood.
 Bid him look back to all the Ages past,
 As far as Memory or Books can last;
 Let him the Nation's Valour but compare,
 He'll find *it must not be a Fighting War*.

If he will *English-men* subdue,
 He must his way of *spinning War* renew.

Fateaguing Marches, Harass, and Surprize,
Long Campings, Dodging, and Delays;
 These baulk an *English-man*, and make him mad,
 Make Valour droop, and hang the Head.
 They're so impatient and uneasy there,
 The very Nation's *sick of War*.

Would *France* but with *this fighting War* go on,
 She'll quickly be undone :
 In Art, in Bribe, in Conduct, and Surprize,
Her proper Talent lyes.

There we must own she manages Mankind,
 Sees with their Eyes while they themselves are blind;
 Hoodwinks the World, and plays her Game so sure,
 Princes her willing Yoke endure :
 She makes her Neighbour-Kings support her Throne
By the Destruction of their own.

She Tricks the World in Arts of Governments,
 And those she cannot Conquer, Circumvents.
 By this she's made a Match for all Mankind;
 And this way still she may her self defend :
 But if she comes to Fighting on the Square,
 She'll quickly finish all the War.

Two more such Battels wou'd undo her;
 And sink at once her wild extended Pow'r.

Tell us, Great *Tallard*, and your mighty Train,
 That made the vast Attempt in vain;
 (You saw th' amazing Sight)
Tell us how English Armies fight.

You have the mighty *German Squadrons* broke,
 The *Roman Eagle* snar'd and took;

At *Landau* and *Brisack* your Fame is known,
 And *Hessian Princes* your high Conduct own:
 In Honour now the noted Truth confess;
 To your own Honour you can do no less:

Do your too happy Victors Right,

Tell us how *English Armies* fight?

Is there not something in an *English Face*,

Something peculiar to the very Race,

That carries Terror out in ev'ry place?

Are they not Furies? something more than Men?

Something beyond Humane?

Let your amaz'd Battalions tell their Tale,

What made their wonted Courage fail?

To whom did *Ninety* Ensigns yield?

To whom did *Thirty Squadrons* quit the Field?

Could common Men the *Royal Household* fright?

And make them court the Waves to shun their fight?

Those Troops that rais'd the *Gallick* Fame,

And purchas'd *Lewis* his immortal Name;

That made the *Germans* stoop to his Command,

And always fought with Victory in Hand;

That pass'd the *Rhine*, the *Danube*, and the *Po*,

That made the stubborn Nations bow,

And always were invincible till now;

Innumerable Battels they have fought,

Innumerable Victories ha' got;

Witness the Thousands of their slaughter'd Foes,

Whose Valour only help'd their Overthrows.

At *Flerus*, at *Marsaglia*, and *Landen*,

The *Maese*, the *Moselle*, and the *Rhine*,

They strew'd with Blood the fruitful Shore,

And never had their Fame eclips'd before.

Can these be Conquer'd? Can the mighty Line,
 That with so many Conquests shine;
 That never could by any Force be broke,
 Nor ever felt the Conqu'rors Stroke;
 Can these to equal Numbers e'er submit?
 Can these the Field of Honour quit?

The Flow'r of *Germany* and *Spain*,
 Have often made the great Attempt in vain.
 They scorn your *Cossacks*, *Croats*, and *Hussars*,
Phantomés and *Scare-crows* of the Wars;
 The *Ignis Fatuus* of the Field,
 And hardly worth the trouble to be kill'd :
 They always struggl'd for the nobler Prize,
 And chose the Dangers of exalted size.
 The *Saxon*, *Brandenburgh*, and *Hessian* Horse,
 Have often fled from their superior Force:
 Whole Armies have at once defy'd;
 Bully'd the *Swiss*, the *Italian* Troops destroy'd:
 Trod down the fatal Grenadiers,
 And broke the brazen Troops of *Cuirassiers*.

So much they scorn'd the gen'ral Rules of War,
 Such Strangers to, so unconcern'd in Fear,
 They'd calmly stand the fiercest Shock,
 Delay the sure returning Stroke;
 Throw by the useless Engines of the War,
 The Sword's their Bullet, and their Name the Fire:
 The Pistol and the Carabin disdain'd,
 And carry'd all before 'em Sword in Hand.
 If these to equal Numbers e'er submit,
 If these the Field of Honour quit,

Where

*Where is the Nation who must lead them on?
They must be English-men, or none!*

See the strange Fate of Humane Things,
How Nature ev'ry Day new Wonders brings!
See how these Capitals of War
Are in a Moment taught to fear!
How from the *English* Troops they learn to fly!
Afraid to fight, while not afraid to die.

Soldiers are always Slaves to Fame,
Where they could stand the Men *they'll fly the Name;*
And there are strange disheart'ning Charms
In the bare Reputation of Mens Arms.
See how the trembling *Household Legions fly!*
The scatter'd Squadrons *how they lye!*
Soon as the *English* came upon the Spot,
Some Devil sure went with their Shot.

No more the Royal Standards dare advance,
No more dispute *the Gallantry of France.*
Confusion seizes the unhappy Bands,
They lose their Feet as well as lose their Hands.
Betwixt the wild Extreame of Rage and Fear,
What strange ungovern'd Wretches they appear!

They rais'd a high amazing Cry,
Afraid to fight, and yet disdain'd to fly;
'Twas so unknown a thing to them to yield,
So awkwardly they quit the Field:
They lost their Moment by the wild Delay,
Now they've no *time to fight, nor room to run away.*

Surrounded by the Conqu'ring *English* Bands,
They lose their Hearts, and *that's to lose their Hands.*

Grown

Grown mad and furious by Despair,
 For Death and Desperation they prepare:
 In vain against their Fortune they exclaim,
 In vain blaspheme the *English* Name;
 Close at their Heels the Conqu'ring Troops pursue,
 Prevailing Death appears in view.

The *English* Terrors quite confound their sight,
 And yet they *less* know how to fly *than* fight.
 Fate ne'er abandons Man in his Distress;
 The *Shapes of Death* have vast varieties:
 And he that scorns to stoop to Victory,
 May always find some way to die.

Th' *inviting Streams* the desp'rate Troops allure,
 There they have room to die secure;
 There they can gratifie their Rage, and die,
 In spite of the insulting Enemy.

Danubius stops their raging Breath,
 With all the kindest Courtesie of Death;
 To her destructive Waves they fly,
 Their bold pursuing Conq'rors they desire:
 Forward the mighty Squadrons throng,
 Cursing their Fortunes, and the War,
 By the *Victorious English* push'd along,
 But faster prest by Rage and wild Despair.

What strange Extreame has Nature in her Womb!
 From what wild Fountain do they come?
 The Conquer'd Troops by various Methods shew
 More Fury than the Victors that pursue;
 But with this difference in their Wrath,
 This is the Rage of Conquest, *that of Death.*

From vastly wide Beginnings they appear
 The *Fire* of Joy and *Fury* of Despair:
 Life finds no room among these wild Extreams;
 Contempt of Death both sides enflames:
 The Victors kill, the vanquish'd scorn to live;
 They scorn to ask what those refuse to give.

Headlong they leap from the relenting Shore,
 With the same *Fury* that they fought before;
 The dreadful Waves more willingly embrace,
 Less dreadful than an English Army's Face.

The willing Stream conceals their Shame,
 And buries all their Glories with their Name.

So fell the *Gallick* Glory! So may all
 The Enemies of England fall;
 Tramp'd by *English* Valour down,
 And help'd to full Destruction by their own.
 On *Danow's* Banks the glorious Victors stand;
 'Twas on that fatal Strand
 The mighty *Tallard* did his Sword resign,
 That Sword that fought so bravely on the Rhine.
 He saw his Master's Pride and Glory lost,
 The Hopes of Universal Empire crost.
 He saw sunk down the Life and Soul of War;
 The sight oppress'd his Thoughts with wild Despair:
 In vain his Master's Glories he'd invoke;
 Fate had the strong Enchantment broke:
 Not all the Fame of former Battels won,
 At *Spirebach*, at *Landau*, or *Bon*,
 Could comfort him in his approaching Fate,
 He saw his Ruin so compleat.

Too

Too well he found the differing Case appear;
And a new way of making War.

The *Germans* he had oftentimes o'erthrown,
 Too well to them his dreadful Name was known:
 But his inverted Fate instructs him now,

He must to English Fortune bow.
 With strong Reluctance he's oblig'd to yield
Himself his Fortunes, and his Troops the Field.

To *Marlbro's* Name the Hero must submit;
 So Fate and Victory appointed it.
 At his Triumphant Feet the Victims lye;
 From his triumphing Face the Legions fly:
 And they the *English* Mercy now implore,
 That, to their Cost, had try'd their Force before.
 Now the surrounded Regiments comply;
 They see 't's alike in vain to fight or fly:

The *Gallick* Ensigns they lay down,
 Superiour *English* Glory own;
 At *Marlbro's* Hands their Lives receive,
And ask'd what they were always us'd to give.

Ye Heavens! What's God a-doing in the World!
 How is the Face of Providence display'd!
 The Good and Evil so together curl'd,
 Nature it self's dismay'd.

He has the *Horse* and *Rider* overthrown,
 And by their want of Pow'r display'd his own:
 'Tis *He* has *England* magnify'd,
 As Instruments to crush the *Gallick* Pride.
He singl'd out the Nation for the Deed;
No Wonder all the Power of France comply'd.

Great *Marlbro'*! Let our more impartial Verse

Some of thy glorious Deeds rehearse:

But bear the Poet when he makes it known

'Twas all thy Maker's doing, *not thy own.*

Nature her humble Thanks to Heav'n presents;

But *Heav'n admits* our Praise to Instruments:

Nor shall we lessen the Almighty's Name,

When we in Songs of Triumph *sing thy Fame.*

And yet our Muse, that scorns the flatt'ring Flight,

Shall raise thy Glory to the greatest Height,

As made *the Agent* to the Infinite.

With *Pedant Praises* thou can'st ne'er be pleas'd,

Thy Judgment's not so much diseas'd:

And when in Arms we give thee Victory,

'Tis Nonsense to assault thy Modesty.

We praise thee as the Man that Heav'n thinks fit

Should make the Nations Happiness compleat.

But 'tis to Heav'n it self we pay

The high original Glory of the Day.

This needs must *thy Ambition* satisfy,

And pay for all the Toils of Victory.

To double height it must thy Glory raise,

When for thy Actions Heav'n obtains the Praise.

Of all the Panegyricks, Odes, and Layes,

Which flatt'ring Poets sing to mortal Praise;

None can afford thee so much true Content,

As those that for thy sake to Heav'n are sent.

How Heav'n and Thee together all Men bless!

Thee for the Action, That for the Success.

Tho' Chance and *T'other Idol* may

Throw an unlook'd-for Victory away;

L

Yet

Yet Battel flies on Nature's Wings,
 And Victory obeys the Course of Things.
 Handfuls sometimes shall numerous Hosts subdue,
 When suited Conduct backs *the Mighty few* :
 And Art sometimes gives easie Victory,
 When *Craft* the place of *Courage* may supply.

But when two vast collected Armies meet,
 In Conduct both, and both in Art, compleat;
 Equal in Courage, Quality, and Fame,
 Their Arms, their Numbers, and their Hearts the same;
 When Victory shall view th' embattl'd Line,
 And knows not to which side she shall incline ;
 So well the Merit of the Troops appear,
 So suited to *the Arguments of War*,
 Tis Heav'n alone decides the Matter there.

Nature directs no more by stated Laws,
 There seems no room for Consequence or Cause;
 Reason can make no Guess for either side;
Bellona can no more the mighty Cause decide:
Victoria tosses up for *Cross* or *Pile*,
 As *Arbitrary Fate* is pleas'd to smile :
 Heav'n takes the Case into its proper Hand,
 And binds th' Event of things to his Command.

The gen'ral Circumstances here agree,
 But let us search the Marks of Victory :
 We had *presaging Tokens* of Success,
 Tho' theirs the *greater Force*, and *ours the less*.

What tho' in Numbers they exceed,
 And their extending Line pretends to spread ;
 These scorn that *usual Sign of Victory*;
 With *English Valour* all the Intervals supply ;

And thus this Riddle they explain,
That these *more Soldiers* have, and those *more Men*.

Old English Courage scorns those trifling things,

The *higher Ground*, the *well-flank'd Wings* :

He that will Conquer whatsoe'er it cost,

Scorns the *Advantage of the Post*.

This Wing the *Woods* may flank, the *Castle* that;

They leave it to their Swords and Fate :

And still the Advantages are equal found,

These *higher Hearts*, and those the *higher Ground*:

Speak, *Fame*, and tell us how we shall divide,

The Leading Hero's Worth on either side.

Never were Armies in the Field before,

With greater Leaders, or *with more*.

The Flow'r of *Europe* on this Stage appear,

And all *Bellona's Favourites* were there.

Equal in Valour, Conduct, and Success;

All flush't with *Fame*, and former *Victories*.

There stood *Bavaria*, once a Name

Belov'd by *Europe*, and by *Fame*:

His Courage still, tho' not his Cause, the same.

Vienna's Plains his youthful Valour try'd,

In *Turkish Blood* his early Banner dy'd :

There his young Sword, enrag'd with Victory,

Defends that Empire *he wou'd now destroy*.

There the young Hero learn'd to fight,

And rais'd his Fame to a stupendious height ;

Thousands of vanquish'd *Turks* before him fly,

And *thirteen Battels* yield him Victory.

At *Buda, Belgrade, and at Gran,*
 He and *Fame's Darling, Great Lorrain,*
 The Triumphs of their Valour shar'd,
 And gain'd immortal Names for their Reward.

In *Flanders* next he drew his Conqu'ring Sword,
 And *Namure's* Walls new Triumphs there afford.

But Fate and *his mistaken Cause*
 Robb'd him *not* of his Valour, but *Applause.*
 Resolv'd the Hero stands, resolv'd to try,
 And court his former Mistress, *Victory.*

His old unconquer'd Squadrons brought,
 By Victory and his Example taught,
 And just *as when he us'd to Conquer* fought.

Tallard, the *German's* Terror, led the Right,
 As much innr'd to Conquer *as to fight* ;
 Flush'd with Success, he knew not how to fear,
Proud of a Battel and in love with War,

His own superior Numbers knew,
 And his superior Fortune too,
 Pleas'd with the just Advantages he saw,
 Eager his Conqu'ring Sword to draw,
 The still too forward Enemy invites,
And, sure of Victory, with Pleasure fights.

Be silent, Fame, no more the Names repeat
 Which help to make our Vict'ry more compleat.
D' Arco was there, there was the Great *Marfin,*
 Of Hero's Blood, *to Vict'ry near of kin.*
Rocroy conveys his Ancestors to Fame,
 And Personal Merit shews him worthy of the Name.

Heroes that never were subdu'd before,
Follow'd by *fifty seven Generals more.*

Men bred to War and Victory,
But ne'er had been shew'd how to fly;
Men that ev'n War it self defy'd:
Never was Cause so bad *so well supply'd.*

Should we the Gallant Troops display,
Our Lines must shine as bright as that more glorious day,
The dreadful Splendor of th' embattl'd Line,
With what strange Martial Terrors did they shine!

What Troops of Dangers threat'ning stand,
From *such* an Army under *such* Command.

Never was Battel better fought,
Never was Vict'ry longer kept in doubt;
Never was Courage longer kept on fire;
Never was Conquest more entire:
Never was Vict'ry more compleat;
Never was braver Army better beat.

Now *Fame* be just, and let us see
Where are *the Sons of Victory.*
If such as these are from the Battel fled,
What Laurels wait the Victor's Head?
Vain is the Impotence of Words,
To tell the Labour of their Swords.

Vain is the Poet's Study to relate
The *Blood*, the *Valour*, and the *Turns of Fate*,
The mighty Struggle, the intrepid Rage,
Where Men *like Beasts*, and Beasts *like Men* engage;
The furious Wings of mighty Horse,
Like Mountains, moving with an equal Force;

How they with Valour brighter than their Fire,
 With equal *Fury* meet, with equal *Fate* retire;
 Renew the Shock their Strokes renew,
 Alternately retreat, and then pursue;
 Till strong Triumphant Death comes on,
 And both are ruin'd, both cut down:
 Both stoop to their immediate Fate,
 And leave the Vict'ry in Debate.

See, on the Right of the Triumphant Line,
 Where all the *Roman* Eagles shine,
 With War and Terror in his youthful Face,
 His Glory brighter than his Arms of Brass,
Eugenius, from the Banks of *Po*, appears,
 Crown'd with *more Victories than Years*,
 'Tis he whose wond'rous Conduct has so long
 Furnish'd *European Bards* with Song.
 And ev'ry Youth that wish'd for Victory,
 Wish'd but to be *as Brave and Fortunate as he*.
 The Troops of *Mahomet* his Valour knew,
 There he Two Hundred Thousand *Turks* o'erthrew;
Zenta, renown'd in Story, knows it well,
 'Tis there the slaughter'd Thousands fell.

But Fame, as not content with this,
 And lest their want of Skill should lessen his,
 Prepar'd more formidable Foes,
 His more superior Conduct to disclose:
Carpi, *Cremona*, and the Banks of *Po*,
Chiari, *Mantua*, and *Luzara* too,
 The bloody Footsteps of his Valour shew.

And

Bred up to *Mars*, and born to Arts of War,
 Nature the *Flaming Hero* did prepare;
 And *Victory*, that lov'd to have him by,
 With suited Lawrels *always did supply*:
 Nor cou'd he such another Captain find,
 But mighty *Marlbro'* to whose Fame he join'd.

My Muse, lay by the Arts of Verse;
 No Art his brighter Glory can rehearse:
 See how *Britannia* leads him to the Field!
 Valour his Guide, and Providence his Shield!
 See on his Right *Victoria* stands,
 Receives his high Commands;
 She serves *Cadet* and *Voluntier*:
 Attended thus, What shou'd the Hero fear?

Calm and sedate, the mighty Man
 Spreads with his dreadful Troops the Plain.
 The Martial Fury of his Face
 Began to rise, and shew it self apace:
 But all his Soul was calm, 'twas all sedate;
 Secure of Conquest, unconcern'd at Fate.
Tallard! Thy Reason might suggest thy Doom,
 Had'st thou but seen Great *Marlbro'* come
 Circl'd with *English* Heroes; seen him rise
 With *English* Valour in his Eyes:
 Had'st thou his Troops of *Englist-men* survey'd,
 Thou'dst not thy Reason so betray'd;
 Thou might'st ha' seen *Invincible* writ there,
 And *Prudence* wou'd ha' taught thee to retire.

CONCLUSION.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

S I R,

IN Ancient Time a far less Fame than yours
Transpos'd their Heroes *into Heav'nly Powers*:
The forward People, who no Rules contain,
Forgot their Gods, and Sacrific'd to Men.

But, as *more Honour*, S I R, becomes your Due,
So we, by better Rules, our Thanks pursue,
Our Praise to Heav'n *exalts our Praise* of you.

That you're a Son of *Great Britannia's Race*,
'An *English Heart* beneath an *English Face*,
A *Martial Soul*, and a successful *Hand*,
Back'd by the faithful *Genius* of your Land;
This is to place your Image *in the Skies*:
Their Gods knew no such Titles, S I R, *as these*.

The Glory which your brighter Deeds contain,
Stamps Medals in the Hearts of *English-men*:
The deep *Impression's* made so very strong,
Cut by your *Hand*, it will endure so long,
Ages to come your very Name will bless,
And your Posterity the Fame possess.

The Battels which you fight abroad procure
New Peace at home, and *make that Peace secure*.

The

The *Enemies* you Conquer on the *Rhine*
 Makes our worst *Enemies* at home decline :
 The Dangers on the *Danube* you pursue,
Lessens our Dangers here, and makes them few.
 And as from Foreign Victories you come,
 You fight abroad, but you subdue at home.
Faction and *Parties* fly before your Name ;
Faction and *Parties* die beneath your Fame.
 Her Majesty, and all her People, stand
 Debtors to all the Conquests you obtain'd.
 By ev'ry Victory of yours we see
Safety rise up like Vapours from the Sea.

For this the Nation, *S I R*, so long has pray'd,
 Such Blood expended, so much Treasure pay'd,
 So many Fleets and Armies rais'd in vain ;
 For this so many Thousands have been slain.
Britannia's Sons the Blessing oft essay'd ;
 But, till You came, 't has always been deny'd :
 In vain they did our Happiness pursue ;
 The Promise stay'd, *S I R*, for the *Queen* and You,
 Wise Providence its Bounty does restrain,
 Till both the Blessings ready, and the Man :
 The Agent and the Action he prepares,
 He finds the Hero, and he makes the Wars.
 Thus Heav'n and You together we admire ;
 Let they that prize you more advance you higher.

THE PACIFICATOR.

WHat *English* Man, without Concern, can see
 The Approach of bleeding *Britain's* Destiny?
 That Glorious Land which justly did preside,
 For Wit and Wealth, o'er all the World beside;
 In vain Victorious *NASSAW* did advance
 His Conquering Arms against the Power of *France*,
 Since from those Conquests he is hardly come,
 But here's a Civil War broke out at Home:
Britannia's Warlike Sons disturb the Isle,
 Delighting one another to Dispoil,
 Enur'd to Discord, Envy, and Debate,
 Hereditary Frenzies of the State.
 The Fruits of Ten Years War they now prevent,
 By civil Feuds, and private Discontent.
 The Peace we gain'd! does it so cheap appear,
 To prize so low what we have bought so dear?
 The Blood, the Treasure, which has been destroy'd!
 Methinks we shou'd with War and Wounds be cloy'd;
 But 'twill not be, we cannot hope to find
 That in the Birth which is not in the Kind:
 For *Pride* and *Strife* are Natives of our Soil,
Freeholders born, and have possess'd the Isle
 Long before *Julius Caesar* landed here,
 Or *Picts* or painted *Brittons* did appear,

A stubborn People, barbarous and rude;
Who, like the *Kentish-men*, were ne'er subdu'd.

Fierce *English-men* in Blood and Wounds delight,
For want of Wars with one another fight:
Nothing's so dangerous to them as Peace,
To feed the Flame, and nourish the Disease;
No Laws can this contentious Humour curb,
Their Charter's such they will themselves disturb.
O Gr——ll, *Harcourt*, *Saymour*, and *Ja. How*,
Wou'd you disband our Standing-Army now?
Behold a Civil War is just at hand,
I'th' very Bowels of our Native Land;
The strong Contention's grown to such a height,
The Pen's already drawn, and has begun the Fight.
The Pen's the certain Herald of a War,
And points it out like any Blazing-Star:
Men quarrel first, and skirmish with ill Words,
And when they're heated then they draw their Swords;
As little bawling Curs begin to bark,
And bring the Maffive on you in the dark.

We had some Jealousies of this last Year,
Both sides rais'd Forces, both in Arms appear;
But some Sage Doctors did them both advise
To make it up without Hostilities:
But the deep Quarrel's now of such a Nature,
As *Magna Charta* fights with *Alma Mater*;
The *Doctors* fight, and who shall heal the Matter?
The dreadful Armies are drawn out to fight,
Encamp'd at large in one anothers fight;
Their Standards are the *Red Rose* and the *White*.

Nothing

Nothing but dire Destruction does impend,
 And who knows where the fatal Strife will end?
 The Men of Sense against the Men of Wit,
 Eternal Fighting must determine it.

Great *Nokor* does the Men of Sense Command, *Blackmore*,
 Prince *Arthur* trails a Pike at his Right Hand;
 Heroick *Nokor* made the first Attack,
 And threw *Drammatick Wit* upon its Back;
 Sixteen Battalions of *Old Brittons* stand,
 Enrich'd with Conquest from the *Neustrian Strand*,
 Ready to Charge when he the Signal makes;
 And thus the bloody Combat undertakes.
 His Sense was good, but see what Fate decrees!
 His hasty Talent threw him on his Knees,
 A Storm of Words the Hero overtook,
 Disorder'd all his Lines, and all his Squadrons broke.
 The adverse Troops pour'd in their *Light Dragoons*,
 Charg'd him with *Forty Thousand arm'd Lampoons*;
 The Shock surpriz'd him into a Retreat,
 And *Wits Gazette* proclaim'd a huge Defeat;
 Printed a List of Wounded and of Slain,
 And bragg'd he ne'er cou'd rally up again.

But *Nokor*, like a prudent General,
 Resum'd new Courage from a seeming Foil,
 The same Campaign again in Arms appear'd,
 And what the *Prince* had lost the *King* repair'd;
Apollo Knighted him upon the Spot,
 With other Royal Bounties I've forgot.
 The Wits Commanders, tho' they did retreat,
 Will not allow it to be a Defeat;

Their

Their Troops, they say, soon made a stand again,
Besides they lost but Thirteen Thousand Men.

C——r came next in order to the Charge,
His Squadrons thin, altho' his Front was large,
A modest Soldier, resolute and stout,
Arm'd with a Coat of Sense from Head to Foot;
No more than need, for he was hard put to't.
He charg'd the strongest Troops of all the Foes,
And gave them several signal Overthrows,
But overpower'd by Multitudes of Wits,
By Number, not by Force oppress'd, retreats;
So Sense to Noise and Nonsense oft submits.

C——r's a calm and steady Combatant,
And push'd the forward Troops with brave Intent,
Modest, a Fault not known among his Tribe,
And honest too, too honest for a Bribe:
The Wits wou'd fain ha' bought his Fury off,
And proffer'd him *Applause*, and Gold enough,
But 'twou'd not do, he boldly charg'd again,
And by Ten Thousand Wounds at last was slain.
Some say he was by his own Men betray'd,
And basely left alive among the Dead,
But I cannot understand how that can be,
For how can Treachery and Sense agree?
In *Honours Truckle-Bed* the Hero lies,
Till Sense again, *the Lord knows when*, shall rise.

M——n, a Renegade from Wit, came on,
And made a false Attack, and next to none;
The Hypocrite, in Sense, could not conceal
What Pride, and want of Brains, oblig'd him to reveal.

In

In him the Critick's ruin'd by the Poet,
 And *Virgil* gives his Testimony to it;
 The Troops of Wit were so enrag'd to see
 This Priest invade his own Fraternity,
 They sent a Party out, by Silence led,
 And without Answer shot the *Turn-coat* dead.
 The Priest, the Rake, the Wit, strove all in vain,
 For there, alas, he lyes among the Slain,
Memento Mori; see the Consequence,
 When Rakes and Wits set up for Men of Sense.

But Sense still suffer'd, and the Shock was rude,
 For what can Valour do to Multitude?
 The General sent for Help both far and near,
 To *Cowley*, *Milton*, *Ratcliff*, *Rochester*,
Waller, *Roscommon*, *Howard*, and to *Bhen*,
 The doubtful Fight the better to maintain;
Giants these were of Wit and Sense together,
 But they were dead and gone *the Lord knows whether*,
 The swift Express he then commands to fly,
 To *D*——, *M*——, and *N*——,
 To send their Aid, and save him from Defeat,
 But their united Council was Retreat,
 Reserve your Fortunes for a better Day;
 So Sailors, when the Ship's a sinking, Pray.
 These are the Sages who preside o'er Sense,
 And Laws to all the Common-wealth dispense,
 But Wealth and Ease anticipates our Fate,
 And makes our Heroes all degenerate,
 The Muses high Preferments they possess,
 And now their Pay's so great their Pains decrease;
 So *R*—— fought, so *H*—— too fell on,
 Till Lords of *O*—— made and *T*——.

And now the Wits their Victory proclaim,
 Loaden with Spoils of Sense, and swell'd with Fame ;
 Their Plunder first they carefully bestow,
 And then to spread their Conquest farther go,
 Their Troops divide, their Terror to extend,
 And God knows where their Ravages will end.

D ——— s commanded the forlorn of Wit,
 A stiff politish Critick, very fit
 The open Country to over-run,
 And find out all Mens Errors but his own ;
 His *Stony-Stratford Mistress* read his Fate,
 A Slovens Fancy, and an empty Pate.
 But now Commission'd by the Jingling Train,
 He has his Thousands, and Ten Thousands slain :
 He, like the *Tartars*, who fore-run the *Turks*,
 Easie to be distinguish'd by his Works,
 With equal Havock, and destructive Hate,
 Leaves all the Land he treads on desolate ;
 He roots up Sense, and sows the Weeds of Wit,
 And *Fops* and *Rakes*, Ten Thousand strong, submit.

C ——— e and D ——— n, H ——— s and M ——— x,
 D ——— y, and Everlasting Fops, and Beaus,
 Led up the Battel Fifty Thousand strong,
 Arm'd with *Burlesque*, *Bombast*, and *bawdy-Song* ;
 Flush'd with Great C ——— 's Slaughter they led on,
 Shouting *Victoria*, the Day's their own.
 No Bounds to their licentious Arms they know,
 But plunder all the Country as they go,
 Kill, Ravish, Burn, Destroy, do what they please !
 The *French* at *Swamerdain* were Fools to these.

The

The Cruelties they exercis'd were such,
Amboyna's nothing, they've out-done the *Dutch*;
 Never such Devastation sure was known,
 A Man of Sense cou'd not be seen in Town.
T——n, even Hackney *T——n*, wou'd not print,
 A Book without Wits *Inprimatur* in't;
 And as in Revolutions of the State
 Men strive the present things to imitate,
 So when the Wits and Fops had got the best,
 Men acquiesc'd, and took the Oaths and Test:
 Few wou'd be Martyrs for their Understanding,
 But all went over at the Prince's Landing;
 So Story tells, in *Crook-back'd Richard's* Time,
 Folks wore false Humps to make them look like him.

News, hasty News, the Post is just come in,
Nokor has rally'd all his Troops again;
 In a pitch'd Field he met the haughty Foe,
 And gave them there a total Overthrow;
 The Slaughter's great, the Soldiers still pursue,
 For they give Quarter but to very few;
Wit's routed, all the Beaus are quite undone,
 Their General's slain, their Army's fled and gone.
 See the uncertain Fate of Human Things!
 Change lays its fickle Hands on States and Kings;
 This bloody Battel has undone us all,
 Wit from its glorious blazing Throne will fall,
 For all the Flower of Gallantry and Wit
 Was list'd here, and overthrown in it.

The florid *G——b* was General of Horse,
 And lost his Life and Fame too, which was worse;

The Credit of this new Commander brought;
 With Hopes of Plunder, many a Coward out;
 Who hitherto had very wisely chose
 The Name of Wits, but had declin'd the Blows.
 'Twas dismal to behold the Field of War,
 What Desolation Wit has suffer'd there,
 Whole Squadrons of *Epick Horse* appears;
 Trod down by his Heroick Cuirassiers,
 G——b lost his Darling Satyrick Dragoons,
 And two Brigades of Light Horse, call'd *Lampoons*;
 Old Soldiers all, well beaten to the Wars,
 Known by their *Roughness*, *Ugliness*, and *Scars*;
 Fellows, the like were never heard nor read of,
 "Wou'd bite sometimes enough to bite ones Head off;
 Nor cou'd their Swiftness their Escape procure,
 For *Nokor's* Fury nothing cou'd endure:
 Enrag'd with former Losses he fell on,
 Resolv'd to Conquer, or be quite undone,
 Whole Wings of Foreign Troops he overthrew,
 Whom G——b from *France* to Wits Assistance drew;
 Something the Matter was those Troops betray'd 'em;
 He ill procur'd them, or he had not paid 'em;
 'Twas a dull Fancy in him to think fit
 To polish *English* Sense with Foreign Wit.

Among the Foot the Battel was severe,
 For Wits best Troops were wisely planted there;
 Led up by old experienc'd Commanders,
 As D——n, C——e, A——n and S——s.
 The Grenadiers were known by their blue Bonnets;
 For they had been in *Scotland* making Sonnets;
 Pun-Master-General D——y led them on,
 And with his chattering Tunes the Fight began.

His Orders were to Charge, and then retire,
 And give the Body liberty to fire;
 Ten Regiments of Plays stood on the Right,
 Led on by General D——n to the Fight;
 The Tragedies had made some small Pretence
 To Mutiny, and so revolt to Sense.
 For D——n had some Sense, till he thought fit
 To dote, and lately *deviate into Wit*;
 The Reason's plain, and he has found it true,
He follow'd Wit which did too fast pursue.

The Left was form'd of seven large Brigades,
 Of *Farces*, *Opera's*, and *Masquerades*,
 With several little Bands of *Dogrel Wit*,
 To scowre the Ways, and line the Hedges fit.

Between these mighty Wings was rang'd in fight
 A solid Phalanx of compounded Wit,
 Ten Thousand *Lyrick Foot*, all gallant Beaus,
 Arm'd with *soft Sighs*, with *Songs*, and *Billet-doux*.
 There was Eight Thousand *Elegiack Foot*,
 By *briny Tears* and *sullen Grief* made stout;
 Five Pastoral Bands, lately bred up in Arms,
 By chanting *Gloriana's* mighty Charms,
 And thund'ring out King *William's* loud Alarms.
 Pindarick Legions, seven I think appear'd
 Like *Brandenburghers*, with the enchanted Beard,
 For Lions Skins, and Whiskers late so fear'd.
 These were led up by able old Commanders,
 As C——e, H——s, Soldiers bred in *Flanders*,
 With D——s, D——y, T——n, dull M——x,
 B——r, W——y, P——s, *Fops* and *Beaus*,

Dull

Dull *T*——e, and Pious *B*——y, Old *T*——e,
G——n, Tom *B*——n, and many a Subaltern;
 Some flying Troops were plac'd in Ambuscade,
Mock-Wits, *Beau-Wits* and Wits in Masquerade,
 Some *Amazonian* Troops of Female Wit,
 For Ostentation, not for Combat fit;
 The witty *D*——t appear'd there too,
 Whose Wit's in Prose, but all *incognito*.
 There was one *Caledonian* Voluntier,
 With some *Hibernian* Wits brought up the Rear;
 The whole, as by the Musters may be seen,
 Was Ninety Seven Thousand fighting Men.

All these drawn up, and ready to Engage,
 Old General *D*——n, with a Pious Rage,
 That the Great Work might with Success go on,
 First sacrific'd to the *Emperor o'th' Moon*;
 The Poet and the Priest alike in Fame,
 "For Priests of all Religions are the same.

When *Nokor's* Conquering Troops began t' appear,
 They found a very warm Reception here,—
 He had invok'd the *Gods of Wit* before,
 And vow'd to make their Altars smoke once more,
 With bloody *Hecatombs* of witty Gore.
 Swifter than Lightning at their Host he flew,
 His Word was *D*——, *D*——, *M*——,
 His Squadrons in Poetick Terror shone,
 And whisper'd Death to Wit as they came on:
 The strong Brigades of his Heroick Horse,
 Dreadful for Sense, for pointed Satyr worse,
 Wing'd with Revenge, in fiery Raptures flew,
 And dipt in poison'd Gall the Darts they threw;

Nothing cou'd *Nokor's* furious Troops withstand,
 Nor cou'd he check them with his own Command.
 The Troops of Wit disorder'd, and o'er-run,
 Are slain, dispers'd, disgrac'd, and overthrown;
 The Shouts of Triumph reach the distant Sky,
 And *Nokor* lyes Encamp'd in the Field of *Victory*.

These are the doubtful dark Events of War,
 But who *Britannia's* Losses shall repair?
 For as when States in Civil Wars engage,
 Their private Feuds and Passions to assuage,
 The Publick suffers, harmless Subjects bear
 The Plagues and Famines which attend the War.
 So if we this destructive War permit,
Britain will find the Consequence of it,
 A Dearth of Sense, or else a Plague of Wit;
 For Wit, by these Misfortunes desperate,
 Begins to arm at an unusual Rate,
 Levies new Forces, gives Commissions out,
 For several Regiments of Horse and Foot,
 Recruits from every side come in amain,
 From *Oxford*, *Cambridge*, *Will's*, and *Warwicklane*,
 The scatter'd Troops too, from the last Defeat,
 Begin to halt, and check their swift Retreat:
 In numerous Parties Wit appears again,
 Talks of another Battel this *Campaign*,
 Their strong Detachments o'er *Parnassus* range,
 And meditate on nothing but Revenge.

To whom shall we apply, what Powers invoke,
 To deprecate the near impending Stroke?
Ye Gods of Wit and Arts their Minds inspire
 With Thoughts of Peace from your Pacifick Fire;

Engage

Engage some Neighbouring Powers to undertake
 To mediate Peace, for *dear Britannia's* sake;
 Pity the Mother rish'd of her Charms,
 And make her Sons lay down intestine Arms.
 Preliminary Treaties first begin,
 And may short Truce a lasting Peace let in,
 Limits to Wits unbounded Ocean place,
 To which it may, and may no farther pass;
 Fathom the unknown Depths of sullen Sense,
 And purge it from its Pride and Insolence,
 Your secret Influences interpose,
 And make them all dispatch their *Plenipots*;
 Appoint *Parnassus* for a place to meet,
 Where all the Potentates of Wit may treat;
 Around the Hill let Troops of Muses stand,
 To keep the Peace, and guard the Sacred Land;
 There let the high Pretensions be discuss'd,
 And Heaven the fatal Differences adjust.

Let either side abate of their Demands,
 And both submit to Reason's high Commands,
 For which way ere the Conquest shall encline,
 The Loss *Britannia* will at last be thine.

Wit, like a hasty Flood, may over-run us,
 And too much *Sense* has oftentimes undone us:
Wit is a Flux, a Looseness of the Brain,
 And *Sense-abstract* has too much Pride to reign:
Wit-unconcoct is the Extream of Sloth,
 And too much *Sense* is the Extream of both;
Abstracted-Wit 'tis own'd is a Disease,
 But *Sense-abstracted* has no Power to please:
 For *Sense*, like *Water*, is but *Wit* condense,
 And *Wit*, like *Air*, is rarify'd from *Sense*:

Meer Sense is sullen, stiff, and unpolite,
Meer Wit is Apoplectick, thin, and light:
Wit is a King without a Parliament,
 And *Sense* a Democratick Government:
Wit, like the *French*, wher'e'er it reigns destroys,
 And *Sense* *advanc'd* is apt to Tyrannize:
Wit without *Sense* is like the *Laughing-Evil*,
 And *Sense* unmix'd with *Fancy* is the *D—l*.
Wit is a Standing-Army Government,
 And *Sense* a sullen stubborn *P——t*:
Wit by its haste anticipates its Fate,
 And so does *Sense* by being obstinate:
Wit without *Sense* in *Verse* is all but *Farce*,
Sense without *Wit* in *Verse* is all mine *A——*.
Wit, like the *French*, performs before it thinks,
 And thoughtful *Sense* without Performance sinks:
Sense without *Wit* is Flegmatick and pale,
 And is all Head, forsooth, without a Tail:
Wit without *Sense* is Cholerick and Red,
 Has Tail enough indeed, but has no Head.
Wit, like the jangling Chimes, rings all in one,
 Till *Sense*, the Artist, sets them into Tune:
Wit, like the Belly, if it be not fed,
 Will starve the Members, and distract the Head.
Wit is the *Fruitful Womb* where Thoughts conceive,
Sense is the *Vital Heat* which Life and Form must give;
Wit is the *Teeming Mother* brings them forth,
Sense is the *Active Father* gives them Worth.
 United: *Wit* and *Sense*, makes Science thrive,
 Divided: neither *Wit* nor *Sense* can live;

For while the Parties eagerly contend,
The Mortal Strife must in their mutual Ruin end.

Listen, ye Powers, to *lost Britannia's* Prayer,
And either side to yielding Terms prepare ;
And if their Cases long Debates admit,
As how much Condescension shall be fit,
How far *Wits* Jurisdiction shall extend,
And where the stated Bounds of *Sense* shall end,
Let them to some known Head that Strife submit,
Some Judge infallible, some *Pope in Wit*,
His Triple Seat place on *Parnassus* Hill,
And from his Sentence suffer no Appeal :
Let the Great Balance in his Censure be,
And of the Treaty make him *Guarantee*,
Let him be the Director of the State,
And what he says let both sides take for Fate :
Apollo's Pastoral Charge to him commit,
And make him *Grand Inquisitor* of Wit,
Let him to each his proper Talent show,
And tell them what they can or cannot do,
That each may chuse the part he can do well,
And let the Strife be only to excel :
To their own Province let him all confine,
Doctors to heal, to Preaching the Divine ;
D——n to Tragedy, let *C——h* translate,
D——y make Ballads, Psalms and Hymns for *T——e*.
Let *P——r* flatter Kings in Panegyrick,
R——ff Burlesque, and *W——y* be Lyrick :
Let *C——e* write the Comick, *F——e* Lampoon,
W——ly the Banter, *M——n* the Buffoon,
And the transgressing Muse receive the Fate
Of Contumacy, Excommunicate.

Such as with railing Spirits are possess'd,
The Muses Frenzy, let them be suppress'd,
 Allow no Satyrs which receive their Date
 From *Juno's Academy*, *Billingsgate*;
 No Banter^s, no Invective Lines admit,
 Where want of Manners makes up want of Wit.
 Such as are hardned in Poetick Crimes,
 Let him give up to their own foolish Rhimes;
 Let those Eternal Poets be condemn'd,
 To be Eternal Poets to the end:
 Let *D* — — still continue unpolite,
 And no Man read what *Dull M* — — *x* shall write,
 Reduce him to his Letter-Cafe and Whore,
 Let all Men shun him as they did before.
 Let *M* — — *n* talk for what he can't defend,
 And banter *Virgil*, which he ne'er cou'd mend;
 Let all the little Fry of *Wit-Prophaners*
 Rest as they are, with neither Sense nor Manners,
 Forsaken of *Apollo's* Influence,
 With want of *Language*, and with want of *Pence*:
 What Fools indite let none but Blockheads read,
 And may they write in vain who write for Bread:
 No Banter on the Sacred Text admit,
 Nor *bawdy Lines*, that *Blasphemy of Wit*:
 To Standard Rules of Government confine
 The Rate of every Bard, and Worth of every Line,
 And let the Rays of their Ambition burn
 Those *Phaeton-Wits* who this Subjection scorn:
 If they aspire to invade the Government,
 Bring them before the *Muses Parliament*,
 No Universal Monarchy admit,
 A *Common-wealth's* the Government for Wit.

T H E
Double-Welcome. A Poem to the
Duke of Marlborough.

My Lord,

TH E Muse that by your Victory's inspir'd
First sung those Conquests all the World admir'd;
Now sings the Triumphs of your Native Land,
Where you *our Hearts* as well as *Troops* Command :
Her Debt of Praise is yours, but 'tis her Due,
That welcom'd Vict'ry, now to welcome you.

And tho' her Verse, *too mean* to sing your Fame,
Injures the Hero by the Poet's Name ;

Abject and low, and *scorch'd by Party-Fire*,
Whom neither *Name* invites nor *Hopes* inspire :

Yet this she claims, she can your Fame rehearse,
Unbias'd in your Praise, *Impartial* in her Verse.

This Character sh' has kept, and this she brings,
She always scorn'd to flatter, *tho' she sung to Kings*.

Satyr has been her Talent, Truth her Song,
Truth *who can bear it!* sung too loud, too long.

Bright Truth! that Stranger to the Jingling Train,
Makes all their Praises Satyrs, all their Satyrs vain,
While Truth can neither this nor that explain. }

Th' *Unspotted Standard* has been all her Aim,
For this *she has felt her Fate*, and sunk her Fame :
For this *they've damn'd* the Poet and his Rhimes,
And slain th' unhappy Muse *for want of Crimes*.

Adapted thus to Sacred *Truth* and *Fame*,
She never sung but they were both her Theme.

Stranger

Stranger to Panegyrick and to Praise,
 It must be *some Sublime* must her just Fancy raise.
 To *Truth* and *Merit* she was always true,
 She never could the flattering Flight pursue,
 And never prais'd but *William*, Sir, and *You*.

And should she, spight of Nature, strain her Thought,
 Should she his Lawrels sing that never fought,
 Should she make *Gallo* Chaste and *Talus* Wise,
 And praise Immortal Blockheads in Disguize,
 Or feign a Hero,
 'Twou'd be so forc'd, so awkward, and so dull,
Gallo would seem *more Lewd*, *Talus* seem *more a Fool*:
 Truth thro' the Lawn of Flattery would shine,
 And in Mock-Praise the Satyr must be seen.

Should we Eternal Trophies seem to raise,
 And flying *Chamo*'s doubtful Vict'ry praise.
 Disputed Honours partially decide,
 And grant that Fame *Bellona* has deny'd;
 To Vict'ry's Statue new Mock Honours pay,
 And say they Conqu'ring there that run away;
 'Twould with such incoherent Nonsense shine,
 The blushing Hero must the awkward Praise decline:
 The *strong Collateral Banter* would appear,
 Courage so sung would read *like Hymns to Fear*.
 The Painters thus by Contraries present
 The Allegorick *Devil* like the *Saint*,
 But by some faint Reflection show their Care
 The *Cloven Meaning* should not fail t' appear.

The Poet, Sir, to plainness thus enur'd,
 Thus from the Charge of Flatt'ry first secur'd,
 An honest and unbiass'd Freedom brings,
 And all the Nation listens while he sings;

In his inviting Confort freely joyn,
 Just so they did when first he sung *the Boyne*;
 Just as when *Namur's* Conquer'd Walls he sung,
Britannia own'd his Harp Divinely strung.
 'Tis Subject makes a Poet, and the Verse
 Must be inspir'd when *William* we rehearse;
 His Mighty Name Poetick Force procures,
 And next to him the Inspiration's *Tours*.

From Foreign Fields and wild *Danubian* Shore,
 Where *English* Armies never trod before,
 Fruitful of Dangers, long enur'd to War,
 For Great *Gustavus* us'd to Conquer there;
Herculean Labours past, and Hazards run,
 Unheard of *Marches* made, unlook'd for *Vict'ries* won:
 From Battels fought in earnest, and the Field
 Which none but *these* could win, where *those* must yield,
 From unexempl'd Conduct and Success,
 That ne'er had been so great had *This* been less:
 From Deeds too Mighty to be spoke by Words,
 Printed in Death, engrav'd with *English* Swords,
 Confess'd by humbl'd *France*, and loudly told
 By Valour dearly bought, by Valour dearly sold:
 From scatter'd Enemies and rescued Crowns,
 Which Envy nor *Disputes* nor Pride disowns;
 You're welcome, Sir, to this unthankful Shore,
 Where Men of Worth were never own'd before.

If in the future Glories you pursue
 You find the hateful Scandal happen true,
 The Names of *Schellenburgh* and *Hocksted* lye
 Buried with *Namure* and the *Boyne* in wild Obscurity,
 Let not your Vertue in suspense appear,
 'T has always been the Fate of Merit here:

A steady Glory ever has entail'd
 The Grin of Envy, Envy never fail'd
 To act the high refin'd Extream of Hell,
 How *William* found it, *blush my Muse to tell.*

Shall any Foreign Bard desire to know
 Why *Britain* can so few like *William* show?
 Say angry Poet, tell 'em 'tis because
 Ingrateful Devils grudge them due Applause.
 The Nation's Genius acted from below
 Rewards no Service, will no Merit know.
 Fame's empty Record none but *Marlbro'* shows,
 Would *England's* Work on *England's* Terms espouse;
 But he, like *William*, *Heavens* their Fame regard,
 Pursues true Vertue for its own Reward.
Welcome Immortal Hero's to that Shore,
 Where Men of *equal Worth* were never seen before.

From *fam'd Breda* set out the Mighty Train,
William too oft set out from thence in vain.
 Advance my Muse, and view the embattl'd Line,
 They pass the *Maese*, the *Moselle*, and the *Rhine*.
France in suspense the mighty Storm foresaw,
 The Conq'ring Squadrons for the Battel draw,
 And *Mars* stood blindly hov'ring o'er *Landau*.

Laugh at the guilty baffled God of War,
 Ye Sons of Arms, the Scene's prepar'd afar;
 Not *Lewis* now, not *Mars* himself could know
 Where *English Jove* his Thunderbolt would throw:
 No Traytors brib'd by *France* could lead the way,
 Not Hell it self the Project could betray,
 Nor sell the Nation, as in *William's* Time, for Pay.

The Troops amus'd with Halts and Feints of War
 The just Surprise instructs them what to fear;

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When you to *Danube's* Banks in haste advance,
A Length unlook'd for, unforeseen by *France*.

Swift, as the *German* Eagles led, you fly
On Gusts of Hope, and Wings of Victory;
Your Passes o'er the *Swabian* Rocks appear
Like *Hannibal's*, with Flame and Vinegar:
And when the distant Vales their Prospect show,
You threaten Conquest to the Plains below.

Before your powerful Troops *Bavaria's* fly,
And *Schellenberg* gives way to Victory.
The fam'd Ascent had thirteen times and more
Been Storm'd, and ne'er was won but once before.
Once did the great *Gustave Bavaria* here pursue,
He Conquer'd here because he fought like you.

From hence thro' ravag'd Towns and conquer'd Plains
The Monument of Victory remains,
Augsburg and *Munick* trembl'd at your Name,
Tho' not inform'd of your approaching Fame:
To *Bleinheim*, happy Name! the Scenes advance,
There gathers all the Thunderbolts of *France*.

A Leash of Armies on thy Plains appear,
Each fancy'd able to support a War,
And free a Nation from the Vanity of Fear.

We that at distance saw the approaching Day
Knew the Design, and saw the bloody Way.
Blame not, Great Prince, the Doubts we own were true;
Our anxious Thoughts for *England* and for You.
We knew your brave resolv'd and steady Mind,
But who durst hope for what remain'd behind;
Who durst foretell the Glories of the Day,
That saw the dreadful Dangers of the Way:
Not Heaven it self, had we the News receiv'd
From Heaven it self, would here ha' been believ'd.

When first the Tidings thro' the Nation flew,
 We pauz'd to ask if 'twas a Dream or true;
 Amaz'd almost as much as they that fled,
 While those with Fear, and these with Joy, dismay'd,
 Speak all ye Sons of *Rhime*, the Day rehearse,
 The Theme's too high for my too humble Verse:
Apollo must your Heads at once inspire,
 For needful Praise with Emblematick Fire.
 He that in suited Verse to *Marlbro'* writes,
 Should feel that very Spirit by which he fights.

Yet still the meanest Poet of the Train
 Keeps on, nor shall his Tribute come in vain:
 Not all are *Virgils* to *Mecenas* come,
 Yet all huzza'd *Augustus* back to *Rome*;
 When from the lesser Honour of the Day
 He brought the *Egyptian* Lover's Crown away.
 And thus while *Cesar's* Glory you pursue,
 The Nation's Praises are your Native Due:
 The Universal Suffrage spreads your Name,
 And all Men bless the Poet in your Fame.

Poet, a large Parenthesis allow,
 Say here he *Conquer'd*—— leave the mighty How;
 The vast Particulars let those explain,
 That sing in Numbers suited to the Man:
 Let *Addison* our modern *Virgil* sing,
 For he's a Poet fitted for a King;
 No Hero will his mighty Flight disdain,
The first, as thou *the last* of the inspir'd Train;
Mecenas has his modern Fancy strung,
 And fix'd his Pension first, or he had never sung;
 Thou unregarded pay'st thy Debt to Fame,
 Oppress'd by Fate, and too obscure to Name.

Envy and Party-Spleen h' has never known,
 No humbling Goals has pull'd his Fancy down:
 The Towing Youth with high Success aspires,
 And sings as one whose Song the World admires.

Yet say he Conquer'd, tho' the mighty How
 For *Addison* thou may'st in large Parenthesis allow;
 Trace him from *Bleinheim* and *Danubian* Plains,
 The *Gallick* Captiv'd Heroes in his Chains:
 Trace him to *Philipsburgh* and to *Landau*,
 And tell the *French* 'tis true as they foresaw;
 He would the mighty Bastions there pull down,
 Tho' not before their Army's overthrown.

Attend the Hero to the ancient *Saar*,
 And see him threaten *Native France* with War;
 Surrender *Treves* that fatal Town to *France*,
 Their Troops abandon it at his Advance?
 Remind them of old *Holstein* and *Crequi*,
 There *France*, as now at *Bleinheim*, learn'd to fly.

Tell us no more of Conquests, *Fame's* oppress'd,
 The Breathless Muses claim some time to rest;
Saarbruck and *Traerback* will but spoil our Verse,
 So harsh no Numbers can their Sounds rehearse;
 So *Nimeguen* distracted soft *Boileau*,
 The Subject lofty, and the Poet low,
 Made his just Numbers halt, his Verses lame,
 For want of Rhimes to the Exotick Name.

Thus from a vast Variety of Scene,
 And six huge Conquests fix'd in one Campaign,
Bavaria Conquer'd, settl'd, and subdu'd,
 The flying Prince Four Hundred Mile pursu'd;
 From *Nineteen Towns* surrendred, and the Field
 With slaughter'd Heaps and vanquish'd Legions fill'd

From

From Captive Princes in your Train brought home;
 So *Cæsar* led the Kings of *Gaul* to *Rome*;
 From Trophies nobly bought, and fetch'd from far,
 From boldly finishing the Jest of War,
You're welcome, Sir, behold the approaching Throng
 Of Three great Nations list'ning to my Song.

How has this wise pretending Age till now
 Talk'd big of Fighting, never yet knew how;
 Our Soldiers tir'd with strange fateaguing die,
 And in the *Ditch* not *Bed* of Honour lye;
 Starv'd with the Cold and Terror of the Night;
 But never show'd the *how* or *where* to fight.
 The weary Land the *Trade of War* resents,
 For what the End designs the Means prevents.
 The Miseries we to this day endure
 They caus'd that always have *have been paid to cure!*
 Plunder's their Battels, and the Pay's their End,
 They shun their Enemy and rob their Friend:
 Peace would such Soldiers Livelihood destroy,
 And so indeed they'd for their Country die.
 For *Fighting's* just the way to be undone,
And Conquest would conclude a War too soon:
 Good Husbandry, as *Wo---ly told us how*,
 Had made the *Irish* War ha' held till now;
 But *Fighting Ginkle* struck the Stroke too soon,
 And so the Nation's fav'd, and all the R---s undone.

But you instructed for your Country's Good,
 The Cheats of War have all at once subdu'd:
 And they that thought the Field was but a Play,
 Where all might cheat the Nation for their Pay;
 With Lace and Feathers blustering a Campaign
 To all the Nation but themselves in vain;
 Grow rich upon the Plunder of our Lands,
 And raise great Fortunes out of low Commands;
 These found the Banter on themselves made good,
 While you the proper End of War pursued.

Our Campaign-Beaus no more shall mock the Field;
 And none take Arms but those that dare be kill'd;
 The powder'd Wig, the Snuff-Box and Perfume,
 Will court no more the Musquet and the Drum,
 And Beaus go Rakes to War, come Bullies Home. }

The very Words a different Accent bear,
Fighting must not be understood by *War*;
 Battle and Death's Synonymous in Name,
 And Wounds and Blood will only purchase Fame;
 Cowards must lay their bought Commissions down,
 Their Camp's the Pit, and their Campaign the Town;
 There they may bully, swagger and repeat
 The mighty no Engagements they were at,
 And Fight the *French* in Tea and Chocolate. }

But he that follows *Marlbro'* to the Field,
 Must all his Fame on dangerous Merit build,
 Must look for Blows, and fairly state his Case,
 Shame at his Back, and Death before his Face;
 A General that can show him how to die,
 And push him on to Conquer Victory.
 Shame, *Fear's* *Twin-Sister*, makes a Coward brave,
 He Fights to lose the Life he dares not save;
 Fear makes him bold because he dares not fly,
 It wants more Heart to run away than die,
 For who dare turn his Back when *Marlbro's* by. }

The English Arms grown dull with Rust and Peace,
 Tarnish'd with Luxury and stain'd with Ease,
 You have new pointed, Sir, with Hearts of Steel,
 And *France* confesses what she can't conceal:
 Our *Honour* clouded with Contempt and Time,
 Sullied with long Disuse, and sunk in Crime;

Buried so deep *allow the Muse to grieve,*
William himself could not her Name retrieve,
 Tho' thro' Ten Thousand different Dangers fought,
 Tho' thro' Ten Thousand Victories he fought:
 The trans-migrated Phantome you obtain,
 And in your Fame revive her once again:

Our Heroes Few, and long ago forgot,
 The Breed extinct, behold the Barren Spot;
 Stiril in Worth, and Poor in Sons of Fame,
 Crime taints the best Record, and blasts the worthless
 (Name.

William's the First, for Thirteen Ages past,
 And Fate portends that *Marlbro'* will be Last:
 How shall the Strength of Nature save the Breed,
 Who shall to *William's* Fame and Yours succeed!

And now from all the Dangers of the Field,
 Which Gods and Men with equal Joys beheld;
 Which all our widdowed Harps has newly strung,
 Which *Thousand Heroes* fought, a *Thousand Poets* sung.
 To *Britain's* crowded Shoars your Triumphs come,
 And all the wond'ring Nation *shouts you Home*:
 A *Double Welcome* you at once possess,
 For *Double Conquests* crown you with Success:
 With *Double Joy* we shout, and twice Applaud
Councils at Home, and *Conquest* from Abroad.

Interest in all our Praises will appear,
 Your welcome, Sir, because *you're wanted here*;
 We want you here to calm our wild Debates,
 And ballance *Parties* as you ballance *States*;

To check Insulting Factions, and supply
Immoderate Heat with forc'd *Humility* ;
 Con---dators to *Consolidate*,
 And *Tack* our T---ers to their own dear Fate ;
 To calm the Churches Sea, and keep it still,
 And fix the Nation's Peace *against her Will*.

Thus when from fighting Armies, Sir, you come,
 You must engage *with Devils nearer Home*.

Armies of Hell-born Monsters must appease,
 The *Titans Heaven attack'd* were Fools to these ;
 These Mountains threw, and *Hills erect on Hills*,
 The Mountain *Bi--s Consolidate to Bi---s* ;
 The mighty Parallel agrees in Parts,
 From Hell *they* fetch their Strength as these *their Arts*,
They Heaven's high Power with borrow'd Power invade,
 These Heaven's Vicegerent Queen assault by her own
 (Aid ;

Like them they fall, Heaven has decreed it so,
 And you must A N N's *Immortal Thunder know*.
 See how the embattl'd *Troops of Strife* appear,
 Words are their missive Weapons, Noise the War,
 With *High-Church Zeal* and Party Spirits fir'd,
 With Hell's immortal *Hate of Peace* inspir'd.

A Pulpit War! whence should Sedition come ?
 Our *Soldiers* fight Abroad, our *Priests* at Home ;
 Arm'd with vast Helms of *Contradicting Truth*,
 With Plumes of *Incoherent Sense* set forth ;
Self inconsistent Reason puffs the Mind,
Bluster comes on before, and *Distant Modesty* behind ;
 See how the Black Brigades in Arms advance,
 You'll see no such, Sir, when you conquer *France* ;

Their Meanings easy to be understood,
 The Gown has often *dipp'd the Sleeves* in Blood :
 Would you their Sense of things, Sir, understand,
 And know for what it is they embroil the Land ;
 Quite different Ends of War they all profess,
 They fight for *Plunder*, Sir, and *You* for *Peace* :
 Your nobler Hazards help the World t' enjoy,
 You fight for Right, these *meerly to destroy*.
 Pardon the Poet all your Wars are Jests,
You've fought with Men, you never fought *with Priests*.
 Disdain not, Sir, the Instructions of our Verse,
Your Arts of War will not this Cloud disperse ;
Priests, like the Female Sex, when they engage,
There's always something bloody in their Rage.
 Thus Nature always in Extremes delights,
 The greatest Falls are from the greatest Heights.
 Angels sublime in Nature, and Divine,
 Are therefore turn'd to Devils when they sin ;
 And Humane Sons of God are worse than they,
 When once they can the Laws of Crime obey ;
 The high Seraphick Office qualifies,
 And they're the wickedder, because they're wise.
 Expect no Quarter where the Tribe Commands,
 They fight you with *their Heads*, and not *their Hands*.
 My Muse prophane no more the sacred Name,
Jesús, are these thy Sons ?
 The Church the horrid Ravishers disowns,
 And loud beneath the *Weight of Party's Groans*.

These are the strong *Bandity of the Gown*,
 Who preach for *God's Sake*, plunder for *their own*.
 Our State Divines that push the Party-Cause,
 And *swear and pray* for Persecution Laws,

Own 'tis against their *Doctrine* and their *Sense* ;
 But freely grant they'd be *at that Expence*,
 Would sell the Church, the Nation, and the Queen,
 While all our mod'rate Clergy strive with them in vain.

With mighty Arms thus they invade our Peace,
 In vain the Queen entreats their calm Recess ;
 Tells them if she should grant the wild Desire,
 And pass the Publick Mischief they require,
 They'd grasp but Air, an empty fruitless Name,
 And be the first would perish in their own Flame,
 In vain th' united Peers reject the Bill,
 Men seldom quit the Hopes of doing ill,
 They're doubly damn'd that can despair of Hell.

Th' unhappy Wretches bent to push their Fate,
 And born to find their own Mistakes too late,
 Only adjourn the Mischiefs they design'd,
 Pleas'd with the Hopes of Greater yet behind.
 So far from Peace, *Peace ne'er was their Design*,
 They can for no Repulse the Feud decline ;
 Their weighty Clamours all the Nation fill,
 And *Damn the Lords* because they *damn'd the Bill* ;
 Whole Troops of Satyrs in their Front advance,
 Their Household Bands more fierce than those of France,
 Our Poet trembles when their Hosts appear,
 But *You, Sir, never have been us'd to fear*.

There fam'd S——rel leads the *Vast Forlorn*,
 By him the Party's *Bloody Standard's* born ;
 Abandon'd both by Modesty and Sence,
 And Manners left him as the Consequence ;

Scolding's his Native Talent, and to Rayl
 Serves him for Arguments when Reasons fail ;
With College Licence and Assize Applause,
 He damns the Queen, the Bishops, and the Laws ;
Nor spares the Church her self, but gives the Lie
 To all her Doctrine and Authority ;
High Church Buffoon, the Oxford's stated Jest,
 A Noisy, Sawcy, Swearing, Drunken Priest.

L—y a Turn-coat with extended Throat
 Has chang'd his Caslock for a Campaign Coat :
Stript off his Shepherd's Cloathing he appears
 The very *Wolf* he dress'd in Asses Ears ;
 His Ecclesiastick Dignity lays down,
 And hates the Pulpit, for *he hates the Crown* ;
 The Revolution Damns, affronts the Queen,
 His Sword the Gown supplies, the Text his Pen.
 He's now a *Priest incog*— with Sword and Wig,
And swears to let you know he hates a *Whig* ;
 His strong *Non-jurant* Squadrons brings along,
Below Lampoon too rakish for our Song ;
 He damns the Church for Schismatics because
 They alter'd their Allegiance *by the Laws* ;
 Declares the Church of *England's* only there
 Where strong Aversions to the Regency appear ;
 Unchurches all our Clergy at a Blow,
 And Votes the Bishops useless—

This *mighty Captain Rake* deserves your Care,
 His pointed Darts in High-Church Front appear,
 Ready to charge the Loyal Troops you bring
 With Mock-Religion, and a *Pageant King*.

M—rn, a starving Mercenary Priest,
 A Jobbing, Hackney, Vicious Pulpit Jest,
 From *Ostia* and from *Belgia* lately fled,
 And took the Oaths for very want of Bread;
Immoral Life, and an *immodest* Tongue,
 And dealt in *Rhime*, and *Wit*, and *Baudy Song*.
 The needy Prelate, at whose bounteous Gate
 He lay expecting and importunate,
 Bought his wish'd Absence with a Teaching Cure,
 To make just Room for D—s about his Door;
 'Till from the clam'rous Claimers forc'd to fly,
 His Justice gave his Charity the L——;
 May they from Creditors be never free,
 That nourish'd Sacred Drones in Charity;
 Whose mighty Alms by mighty Debts are known,
 And lend to God what never was their own;
 Give borrow'd Sums, and borrow'd Sermons preach,
 And rob the Poor to help relieve the Rich.

These are the Generals of the mighty Band,
 The *Tallars* and *Marfins* of high Command;
 Mean as they are they lead the wond'rous Host
 Of Priest-rid Worthies who some Brains have lost,
 With *Packingtonian* Fury hurried on,
 Whose Zeal must for their Ignorance atone;
 Who hunt deep Contraries with eager Pain,
 Pull down the Church to build it up again:
 For how can high *nonjurant* L— rail,
 When strong *Consolidating Projects* fail:
 How can they all their wav'ring Logick fix,
 And prove we should Conform to Schismatics.

For if the Church, as learned Men have said,
 Is parted from her only lawful Head,
 And the weak few, their Duty who retain,
 Are all the real Church that can remain ;
 The Devil must this double Knot untie,
 And explicate the wilder Mystery,
 How the Dissenters can be charg'd by both,
 Two Contraries agree, and neither *of them* Truth ;
 Damn the whole Party's Nonconformity,
 And yet would damn them too if they comply.
 Coercive Powers provoke, and strive by Force
 To *Re-reform us all* from bad to worse ;
 Force us with one Schismatick Church to joyn,
 And at one Breath *unchurch us* all again.

Let *B—ly* blush, if not forsook by Grace,
 And let his Sence assume his lost Religious Place ;
 Let him confess the throwing out the B—,
 Cannot two Clashing Churches Wish fulfil :
 That these must first abandon Common Sence,
 Forsake their Cause, and quit their own Defence,
 When they Occasional Oppressions seek,
 And cure the Schism by the Schismatick.

Assist, Great Sir, your Suppliant Country's Peace,
 And screen the Church from wild Absurdities ;
 Aid her more moderate Clergy to defend,
Temper the Means, and *Peace* the mighty End ;
 The Universal Voice of Truth and Law
 That made to drive when this should fail to draw.
 Joyn to engage you in the just Defence,
 Of Temper, Moderation, Right and Sence,
 And of the Nation's Peace by Consequence.

On this the mighty Publick Weal depends,
Conquest the Nation from her Foes defends,
 Compleat it, Sir, and save us from our Friends.

Thus, Sir, the Nation's Guardian you'll appear,
 Abroad suppress, at Home prevent the War :
 Anticipate our Factions in their Growth,
 And smother Feud beneath the Arms of Truth :
 And this your double Vict'ry will create,
 You'll heal Religion and preserve the State.

Whenever Heaven shall thus at once encline
 One Agent two such vast Events to join,
 The Nations must concur the General Voice,
 Will bless the Man to crown the sacred Choice.

The Dissenters Answer to the High- Church Challenge.

AS it is the Character of the Devil to bring a
 Railing Accusation, so no Man of Sense or
 Manners cares to imitate him ; all Men of
 Learning, that ever I met with, will allow that People
 may Differ, Debate and Dispute, without *Billingsgate*
 Language ; that Invidious Names, and Indecent Re-
 proaches, serve to gratifie the Spleen, and flow from a
 Redundancy of Gall in the Author, but add no man-
 ner of Force to his Argument ; good Words are as
 venuous as bad ; and the Satyr lyes in the Truth, not
 in the ill Language of the Book.

From

From this Principle, the Author of a late Pamphlet, with a Title as long as a Book, and call'd, *The Wolf Stript*, must not expect a Return of Dirt for Dirt ; and while he calls every Man by his Name, and yet is ashamed of his own, calls most Men out of their Names, and fills his Book with the Exuberance of his Hypochondriack Vapours, he ought to be look'd upon as an Author not worth while to meddle with ; if a Gentleman should fight with a Chimney-sweeper, he may beat the Man, but he will daub himself so much, will stink of the Soot, and foul his Cloaths, that the Victory is not worth the Disorder 'twill put him into.

In like manner, he that will deal with this Author in his own Way, must foul his Mouth with so much Bear-Garden Language, such rude unmannerly, and unschollar-like Behaviour, that he must be tainted with the ungrateful Savour of his Enemy's Malignancy, and look like the Man he meddles with as not worth any Man's while.

Upon this Account I shall not meddle with his Voluminous Tract it self ; but as he has made a fair Challenge in the Eighth Page of his Book to all the Dissenters, I am willing to enter a little in the Case ; not so much expecting to silence a Tongue pointed with Raillery, but to let the World know that the Dissenters are not unprovided with strong Arguments to defend a just Cause.

The Challenge that this Gentleman has made to the World, and of which he seems so very confident, is as follows.

The Dissenters make a Heavy Noise, That the Church will not Purchase a Reconciliation, with the giving up only of a few Indifferent Things, which Offend their Tender Consciences.

And the Low-Church lay the Blame upon the High-Church, (with very severe Reflections) That they are Obstructors of this Blessed Union.

Now let none of these be Judges in their own Cause : Therefore let the Dissenters give in to the Present Convocation a List of such Indifferent Things, which, if Granted, they will Promise to Conform, and Heal the Schism. The Scruples are Theirs. Therefore they must make the Proposal. None others can tell what will Satisfie them.

If they will not do this, Let them stop their Clamours, and Never more say, That nothing will be Granted them ! And that the Church of England has no mind to Heal the Schism !

But if they will do this, then it will appear, Whether the High or the Low-Church will go Farthest to Purchase this Desir'd Reconciliation ; and which of them do, in good Earnest, Wish it, and not rather to keep open the Breach, to serve other Designs !

Next, let those of the Convocation, who were formerly Employ'd in this Grand Project of Reconciliation, (of which they have made such Boasts) lay before the House the Grounds, and the Terms of it ; that it may appear they were none but Indifferent Things, which were to be Given up to the Dissenters. Otherwise, let Them too Cease their Railing at the High-Church, as Men of Violent Spirits, &c. for Obstructing their Designs ! Or, for Suspecting what they were !

The High-Church Desire, That they, and the Low-Church, and the Dissenters too may be Try'd by their Actions, and not by the Clamours on either Side. And that they may be Heard Publickly, in the Face of the World, by the Method Propos'd.

And whoever Refuse this, and cannot Propose a more Rational and Convincing Way, for the Clearing of Themselves, let Them be Guilty.

Had this been a new Challenge, this Author might have had some Reason to have expected it should have been accepted, and replied to.

But since I find his Reading as short as his Censure is hasty, I think the properest Method is to revise what of this Kind has been already done, and to

put

put him in Mind that all he has said only ends in this Absurdity of arguing, viz. The Dissenters have already been challeng'd to this, have accepted the Challenge, undertaken the Defence of their Doctrine, and of their Dissenting, have effectually vindicated themselves from the Charge of Schism, given Reasons for their Scruples, and made Proposals for Conformity; they have challeng'd the Church to Union and Peace, they have defended themselves from the Charge of Disloyalty and Rebellion, and offered the Church to bring their Loyalty to the Test with them; and none of these things have ever been Answer'd, or some of them not so much as Reply'd to.

Now, as this Gentleman supplies Matter of Fact with Indecency and Railery, I shall not need to follow him there; he begins the very first Page of his Book with Three positive Falsties, neither of which he can in the least tollerable manner make out.

First, That they have a Society of Writers.

Secondly, That the Dissenters find themselves worsted in Argument.

In the same Page he tells us, *'Tis the Method of the Dissenters not to mind any Answer, but to repeat and repeat their own Objections* ad INFINITUM.

'Tis far from my Design to Reply to a Book as full of Absurdities and Contradictions as it is Verbose and Malignant, and therefore I shall content my self with these Three Instances.

1. As to the Dissenters having a Society of Writers, I am so well satisfied of its being a Forgery of his own, that I Challenge him to make appear that there is so much as a Correspondence among them of any Two together that have ever Wrote in the Behalf of the Dissenters; and as he is mighty forward to print Names, and to abuse them by Name too, he is welcome to set down their Names if he can: In which, if he pursue his usual Method of presuming things are so, and then affirming it as positively as if he could prove it, he will certainly Ensnare and Expose himself

self as much in the Particulars as he has done now in the General.

Had the Dissenters so much Unanimity among themselves, as he pretends they have, they would have too great a share in the Publick Regard, to let such a hard-mouth'd Author Treat them in so Scurrilous a Manner as he does; the Government would suppress the Spirit of Raillery in the Mouths of these Enflamers, that they should not have such a full Liberty of Traducing and Abusing their Brethren, in order to keep open the Breach, which 'tis every True *English* Protestant's Desire and Interest to see heal'd.

No, Sir, the Dissenters have no such Societies; the Spirit of Union, *the more Unhappy for them*, is not so much among them; they are all forward enough to have any Body serve them, but it must be at their own Hazard, and at their own Expence, which a late unhappy Author of theirs very lately had Experience of, enough to warn any Man from venturing to serve them again.

But therefore, Sir, is it plain that this Book is far from being Wrote as a Design of the Party, but with the Sence of Truth, which every Honest Man has a Right to Vindicate.

At the same time, Sir, I affirm your Party has, and ever had, a Society of Writers; and whenever you desire it, I am ready to gratifie you with some of their Names; tho' I am not forward of printing Names, as a piece of Rudeness unbecoming an Author: But a certain Weekly Paper now in Course is Publickly own'd to be so wrote; and I know Personally that the wretched Performance has occasion'd some Considerations among People of greater Capacities, to provide a Set of Men to do it better, and to gratifie them for the Service.

But, Sir, I shall not enter upon the tedious Work of Recrimination, as a thing in which there is so much room for launching out, that the compass of this small Tract would be too straight for it.

2, You

2. You tell us, *The Faction*, which is your Civil Term for the Dissenters, *find themselves worsted in Argument.*

It had been time enough to have boasted thus when you had put your Armour off, and when the many Tracts wrote by the Dissenters in their own just Vindication have been Answer'd.

But this Gentlemen has the Misfortune so to be blinded by his Passion, as to cry *Victoria* before the Battle is ended; and not to trouble you, Sir, with many Negatives, I wish you would let us see *one Time* whenever by any thing but Railery you *worsted* the Dissenters.

We confess, Sir, that at ill Language you have the better of us; whether you have any Professors of the Scolding Talent among your Students we know not, for you will not suffer us to be Taught in your Universities; but we assure you, that in those Schools where we are fain to bring up our Youth, we Teach no such Science.

But as if all you had laid down on that Head were true, and you were very certain that you had worsted the Dissenters in Argument, you give them a home Charge.

3. That 'tis their Method not to *mind Answers*, but to Repeat and Repeat their own Objections ad Infinitum.

Now, Sir, This may or may not be true, according as you can or cannot give a Genuine Answer to the following Account of Answers given, and Books written, by Dissenters in their own Vindication, which you, nor any of your Church, have ever yet thought fit to venture an Answer to, and *when you can* you may defend your Church, from unfair Treatment of the Dissenters in point of Argument on this Head.

And not to go too far beyond the Memory of those we are talking to, I think there stands Two Books of the Learned Mr. *Clarkson* yet unanswered, the one Entituled, *No Scripture Evidence for Diocesan Bishops* and

and the other, *A Discourse of Liturgies*. 'Tis true, there is a long and learned Discourse of Dr. Comber's then Precentor of York, wherein with some of our Author's Spirit, Treating the Memory of Mr. Clarkson neither like a Gentleman nor a Scholar, tho' all Men know he was as much of both as ever the Nation bred; and tho' a Dissenter, had the Honour to be Tutor to the Learned and most Excellent Dr. Tillotson, late Archbishop of Canterbury.

After this Author has pleased himself with sufficiently reproaching his Deceased Antagonist, he goes on to rummage Antiquity, to prove that Liturgies were in use in the Primitive Church. This was no part of the Dispute; and had not the Doctor over-look'd it in his haste, Mr. Clarkson had Anticipated his whole Discourse in p. . . 'Whether Liturgies, or Forms of Worship and Administration, were in use in the Primitive Church or not, is no part of the present Dispute.

'But whether these Liturgies were Prescrib'd and Impos'd, as Terms of Communion, this is the Question.

Now, to this Question the Dr. is not pleas'd to say one Word, as I can observe, in his whole Book, but goes on to prove that to be true which Mr. Clarkson granted, and lets that alone which he deny'd.

Nay, so Ridiculous was this Answerer in the Management of himself, both in the Search of Antiquity, and in rendring those Authors he Quotes, that a Learned Minister of the Church of England, meerly with a respect to Justice and Learning, Reply'd to him, and made it appear that the Doctor did not so much as understand the Language of the Quotations. This was Mr. Samuel Bold, Rector of Steeples in Dorsetshire.

This, I suppose, is some People's Way of Answering the Dissenters; and if this may pass for Answering, they are Answer'd indeed: But I must take the Freedom to say, It has yet remain'd unprov'd, that ever a
strict

strict Literal Compliance to any Prescrib'd Form of Worship and Administration of Sacraments, was Impos'd as the Term or Condition of Communion in any Branch of the Christian Church, for above 400 Years after our Saviour's time; nay, 'twould be hard to prove it ever done in any Church in the World but ours to this Day; and they are still welcome to make it out if they can; and till they do, the World may judge whether the Dissenters are *worsted in Argument*, or no.

That there were Bishops in the Primitive Church has also been defended with a great deal of Skill; but as to their Diocesan Royalty and Jurisdiction, they have always, in Prudence, thought fit to let the Dispute of it alone; and I would advise them to do so, still, for they must find some other Book to defend it from than the Scripture, and some other Ages of the World to search for the Practice in, than that of the Primitive Church.

But I must confess the Dissenters were worsted another Way, in the Case of Dr. Calamy and Mr. Delaun; of which remarkable Story this is the short Abstract.

Dr. Calamy preaching a Sermon at Aldermanbury Church, Entituled, *A Discourse about Scrupulous Consciences*, makes the Dissenters this fair Challenge, as by his printed Sermon, Page . . . appears in these Words: *Could we but prevail with the People diligently to examine the Merits of the Cause, our Church would every Day gain Ground amongst all wise Men; for we care not how much Knowledge and Understanding our People have, so they be but Humble and Modest with it: Nor do we desire Men to become our Proselytes any farther than we give them Scripture for it.* And in another Place he goes on; *All we desire of the Dissenters is, that they would equally hear both Sides; that they would weigh and consider the Arguments that may be propounded to them; and being indifferent to either Part of the Question, would think it no Shame to change their Mind when they see good Reason for it.*

Mr. *Delaun*, a Man whose Learning and Temper were Conspicuous to all the Learned World, and particularly in the Book he wrote, accepts this Challenge, and writes down his Reasons for Nonconformity; and as the Doctor had printed his Sermon, and thereby appeal'd to the World, all Peoples Mouths were fill'd with the Fairness of the Proposal, and every Body cry'd out, the Dissenters were worsted, Mr. *Delaun* therefore thought himself oblig'd to print his Reply.

But as the Victory consisted, as it does still, in Boasts and Rhodomontades, so they were as loth to be overcome, as sensible that they should be so, and took immediate Care to suppress the Book, by seizing the Copy at the Printer's; and this was follow'd, by seizing the Author for writing a Seditious Libel, put him in Prison, fin'd him *Ultra Tenementum*, and were hardly prevail'd upon to vouchsafe him the Favour to excuse him the Pillory, which they at last told him in Court was only remitted in respect to his Learning.

Here was a true Church-Conquest, and this Gentleman was persecuted with so much true Church Zeal, that he lay in *Newgate* for his Fine, till he, and his Wife and Children, died there, to the Eternal Scandal both of the Church-man and the Dissenters; the one, that he should first challenge a Dispute, and then so basely Treat the Man that accepted it; and the other, that they should not contribute 75 *l.* to save a Life sacrific'd for their Defence; and such a Life, as, for real Merit, deserv'd infinitely more Regard in a Nation of Humanity and Religion, as we fancy our selves to be.

The Book, for which this Gentleman was thus handl'd, remains to this Day unanswer'd by these People, that boast so much of *worsting the Dissenters*, and they would do well to look back upon that Book, and make some rational Reply to it, before they tell us we can shew no Reasons for our Dissenting.

In like manner they proceed still with the Dissenters upon other Points of Arguing, as particularly by Re-

pealing and Repeating In Infinitum the Charge of Rebellion and Faction, whereas they have been over and over Challeng'd to make out their own Loyalty of Principles or Practice, to exceed the Loyalty of the Dissenters.

And *De Foe's Test of the Church of England's Loyalty* has receiv'd yet no other Answer than his *Shortest Way*, by a Fine *Ultra Tenementem*, and the reproachful Answer of *the Pillory*. If this be your Way of answering Arguments, Gentlemen, 'tis no wonder you can worst the Dissenters.

To proceed in their usual Method, a worthy Member of the House of Commons has publish'd a Book to vindicate the Occasional Bill; and, like those who take Things upon Trust, has affirm'd, that all wise Nations in the World have thought it necessary to entrust the Administration of Publick Affairs in the Hands of such Persons only, as are of one and the same Persuasion in Matters of Religion.

A very handsome Way of calling all the Christian World Fools: For I desie him to shew me one of those wise Nations, and to prove it by one Instance, unless wherethere has not been any Toleration of other Persuasions, the *Turks* only Excepted.

Thus, Gentlemen, we are worsted by Forgeries and Falsties, not by Arguments; we are challeng'd to Dispute, and then ruin'd for Disputing; ask'd Questions, and then fetch'd up for Answering them. But since this Gentleman has found an Adversary capable to deal with him, *Power and P——ts* excepted, I leave him to say the Dissenters are worsted, when he proves it by a sufficient Reply.

We are now challeng'd to prove that we dissent from the Church in Points so far from being essential, as that the Church cannot be justified in Refusing to abate them; and we are desir'd to give in the Objections to the Convocation.

What Authority their Author has from the Convocation to make this Offer, I know not, and do not see

how

how I shall know it; or whether the Convocation will receive such a List of the indifferent things, or no; but since this bold Challenger would be answered, and will not be satisfied with a General Reply, but this must be spoken to by it self, I crave leave to accept his Challenge, as far as the following Particulars reach.

First; I do affirm this has been done already by the whole Body of the Dissenting Ministers in such a Manner, and with such modest Reasons, as several of the Episcopal Clergy were so satisfied with, and did so represent to King *Charles* the Second, that their Concessions were a sufficient Ground of a Union: What, and who, hindred a Union when the Dissenters made such Concessions, I leave to this Gentleman to tell us, if he cares to expose his Friends so much.

Secondly, I do affirm, that if the Church of *England* would think fit so far to stoop to their Dissenting Brethren, as to abate *such things only*, and *all such*, as are acknowledged by themselves to be Indifferent; if it would not reduce us all to such a perfect Union as to Comprehend all Parties, it would yet Embrace so many in the Arms of the Church: 'Twould cause so many to return to the Church among the Dissenters, as would render the Remainder less considerable.

I am to suppose the Challenger in this Matter does not expect I should give in such a List of Alterations as would Reconcile the Quakers, or perhaps not all other Societies; or to tell him what Sorts would Conform, and what would not: But I answer him in Reason, if I say for my self, that upon such Concessions I would Conform with all my Heart, and Thousands more, I believe, would do the like.

Since then he has made such an Offer, let us Examine what it is we desire of the Church, what are the Indifferent Things we differ about, and I join Issue with him, if the Convocation thinks fit to make these Amendments and Amendments, and we refuse to Conform, then I am content we shall pass for a People who are willing to keep open the Breach to serve other Designs.

Before I descend to the Particulars, 'tis necessary to make some Enquiry into what I call Indifferent.

1. I call those Things Indifferent which are not Essential Points of Doctrine, without the Belief or Practice whereof a Man cannot obtain Salvation.

2. All things introduc'd into the Church of England, either in Worship or in Discipline, by Humane Institution, which are not to be found either by Command, or by Precept in the Holy Scriptures, *which are the Rule of our Faith.*

On this Head of Indifferent Things therefore I join Issue with our Author; and if he thinks fit to present our Humble Address to the Convocation, that they will be pleas'd to make such Abatement in the Indifferent Things following, I am persuaded such Multitudes of Dissenters will come into the Church as may very well deserve the Name of a Union, tho' not of an Universal Conformity, and the Number of Remaining Dissenters would be much the smaller.

First of all as to Liturgies, we desire, since it is all Originally Humane, and made by Men Fallible, and of like Passions with our selves, they may suffer such Amendment as are Reasonable and Justifiable from Scripture, and the Practice of the Primitive Church.

Secondly, We desire that after such Amendment, the Minister may not in all Cases be Tied up and Prescrib'd by the Letter of the Book, but may have Liberty to Express himself at large in Prayer, as the present Exigence of the Case may require, and his own Abilities may supply.

Thirdly, We desire the Ordination of Ministers by Presbyters may be allow'd, being Justifiable by Scripture; and that our Ministers may be admitted into Holy Orders without the Re-ordination, and Imposing of Unreasonable Oaths.

Fourthly, We desire the Kneeling at the Sacrament Bowing at the Name of Jesus, the Cross in Baptism the Use of the Surplice, and all those Things own'd by the Greatest Masters of the Dispute, to be Indifferent

may either be wholly left out, or so left at the Discretion of the People, as that they may not be impos'd upon them without their Consent.

Fifthly, We desire the Episcopal Hierarchy to be Reduc'd to such a Pitch of Authority, as may be justified by the Scripture, and to no other; and we are ready to enter into an Examination with them, what that Particular of Power amounts to, and how far it extends.

I do not say these are all the Heads which I suppose the Dissenters require, but I say these are some of them, and the most Considerable; and if the Church would give such Concessions as were Reasonable on these Heads, the Controversie would soon be decided, Whether the Dissenters Separated from the Established Church on frivolous Grounds, or no.

First, As to Alterations in the Liturgy, 'tis the Avow'd Opinion of the Church of *England*, that no Church in the World is infallible; and above all, our Church does not pretend to the Title. If then we are not Infallible, but subject to Err and Mistake, why should she refuse to enter into the Cause, whether it is convenient to make any farther, or more perfect Reformation, or no; but tho' the Consideration were not on a farther Reformation, yet if it were only giving up some smaller Matter for the sake of Christian Peace, it were not Commendable only, but a due requisite Temper in a Christian Church.

As to them that blame the Dissenters for Separating, let us enquire of them, *if they are incapable of a greater Light*, and consequently of knowing better what they ought to do, than they did before? If then they will suppress this Light, and refuse to Amend Things, tho' the Light of their own Conscience directs them to it, where lyes the Charge of Schism? Surely not at their Door, who would only pursue a perfect Reformation, and think it their Duty to serve God in the Way most agreeable to his Revealed Will in the Scriptures; but at theirs, who would oblige them

to Worship him according to the Inventions of Men, by Forms and Methods, for which they have neither Warrant, Command, or Example, either in the Scripture, or the Primitive Practice of the Church; I Appeal to all the World, that as well now as before it is not our Faults that they bring the Liturgy upon the Stage of Dispute, but the bold Challengers of Men that can never make good their Arguments: And they ought first to have Answered what has been said already, before they had Challeng'd us to show New Reasons.

Wherefore in the Sense, first, of the Irresistible Force of what has been said already, and secondly, of my Incapacity of saying more to the Purpose, at least in so short a time, I make the Proposers this fair Offer, and they are at Liberty to carry it to the Convocation, for 'tis their Business, not ours.

1. When they will please to Answer Mr. De Laun's *Plea for the Non-conformists*, and the Substantial, yet Unanswerable, Reasons there given for our Dissenting.

2. When they will please to Reply to the Concessions of the Dissenters in the Conference at the Savoy, and prove they were not sufficient Grounds of an Union.

3. When they will Confute the Scriptural Authority of Bishop Usher's *Model of Church Government*, which was much the same with the Scheme the Dissenters presented to King Charles the Second, and give the Reasons why the Bishops refused it, *Baxt. Life*. cap. 8.

4. If they please to Reply (*a little more to the Purpose than Mr. osfley and Mr. Hoadly has done*) to the Grounds and Reasons of Non-conformity, in the 10th Chapter of *Baxter's Life*, *Abridg'd* by Mr. Calamy's and to some yet Unanswered Things in Mr. Calamy's Reply to Mr. Hoadly.

5. If they please to give a Rational Answer to the first, Second and Third Vols. of the *Conformists Plea for the Non-conformists*, wrote by a Member of their own Church, and to Gillespy's *View of English Popish Ceremonies*.

Whenever

Whenever these things are Soberly and Judiciously Answered, and as Dr. Calamy proposed good Scripture and Reason brought for it, assure your self, Sir, when these Things are Answered, there shall be no manner of need to bring an Occasional Bill to prevent the Alternate Conformity of Dissenters; 'tis most certain, that the far greater Number of them will come in, and become your Christian United Brethren; and till you do these Things, Gentlemen, we Appeal to all the World, who are the Causes of the Schism you speak of, those that all along offered to come in upon Reasonable Conditions, or those that have persecuted us for not complying with Humane Institutions, which are no where to be found in Scripture, *which is the only Rule of Faith.*

And thus now the World may see with what Truth these Gentlemen blacken the Dissenters *with their Repeating Objections, but taking no notice of Answers,* which I here fairly return upon them, and assure them, that whenever they will Answer the Objections in Mr. De Laun's Book against the Liturgy and Canon of the Church of England, and prove the same to be necessary from Scripture and Reason, I will certainly Conform, for I believe, and own it my Duty to Conform to them if I can, and I can never resist Conforming to any thing which is prov'd to be my Duty from Reason and Scripture.

I think 'tis needless to say much of my own, after such Men as these have appear'd, and gone off the Stage with no Reply; neither can I satisfy my self to attempt any thing by way of Addition to Men of such exalted Learning, till I can see something New offered upon these Heads, and unless these Gentlemen have something to say more than has been said before them by Men superior in Learning to themselves: What they now advance favours of an Arrogance peculiar to themselves, and which I like so ill, that I care not to imitate.

I shall therefore think it more than sufficient, thus to tell them what has been said already ; and if they have any thing to say by way of Reply, that demands an Answer, they may not want what is needful to justify the Practice and Principles of the Dissenters, to be such as neither the Charge of Faction or Rebellion can be laid at their Doors, and it seems by this Challenge he would let the World believe that the Church of England would not stand with the Dissenters for small Matters ; and I cannot but wonder with what Face he can publish to the World these following Words, which I am persuaded he has no Authority for from his Superiors.

We should have little Quarrel with the Dissenters about all the Objections they make as to Habits, Ceremonies, Liturgy, and even the Grand Point of Ordination by Presbyters in Cases of Necessity ; if it were not for that Fulsome Word Schism, if they did not gather Separate Congregations, and set them up in Opposition to the Church, and so form a Schism, they would be no Dissenters, notwithstanding their different Sentiments as to the Points before mention'd. All these are his own Words, P. 3.

Thou Hypocrite, out of thine own Mouth shalt thou be condemn'd ; If you had not Quarrell'd with us about Habits, Ceremonies, Liturgy, and Ordination, there had been no Schism ; no separate Congregations gathered, no breaking off from the Church, no such thing as Dissenters, at least but few among us ; and to impose this upon the World after such plain Evidence as has been given to the contrary, deserves a courser Title than I care to foul my Paper with, and evidently shows the Method of the Party who run down the Dissenters by Falsties and Forgeries.

And that I may do what these People seldom concern themselves about ; I lay it down as a Truth, that when King Charles the Second was Restored to the Crown, the present Dissenters being then desired to Conform to the Church of England, and their Ministers having very good Inducement so to do, viz. the Possession

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Possession of their Livings and Benefices, they were Commanded by the King to give in their Proposals, upon which they would Conform.

And 'tis needful to give a short Abstract of the Proceedings in that Case, in order to let the World see what occasion'd the Schism these People cry so much out of, and to place the Guilt of it where it really lies; for as the Morality, so the Immorality, of every Action consists in the Principle from whence it proceeds, and the End to which it is design'd.

At the Restoration of King Charles II. to put the Dissenters in Hopes that a Reconciliation was intended, Ten or Twelve of the Principal of them were made his Majesty's Chaplains; and these designing to improve that Opportunity, waited upon him, introduc'd by the Earl of Manchester, and humbly recommended to his Majesty the Happiness, and the Opportunity of a Union among his Protestant Subjects in Matters of Religion, and begging of him that *ONLY NECESSARY THINGS* might be the Terms of Union.

The King declar'd himself very favourable on this Head, profess'd that the Proposal was exceeding agreeable to him; and promis'd them to do his utmost to bring it to pass. Telling them withal, *That this Agreement cou'd not be expected but by abating something on both Sides, and meeting one another in the Mid-way; and that if they were willing to do their Parts, if it was not effected, it should be their own Faults, and not his.*

Here it may very well be observ'd that the Schism lyes directly at the Door of the Church, *if the King's Words are true.* For the Dissenters did make Offers of meeting half Way, and more than half Way, as shall presently be made out; and if our Brethren of the Church can make out one Step offer'd by them in the most indifferent Circumstance, than ours is the Schism, and not theirs. If not, *Væ vobis Hypocritæ.* Job 15. 6. *Thine own Mouth condemneth thee, and not I; yea, thine own Lips testify against thee.*

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The King after this directed, *That they should bring in Proposals of the utmost they could yield to; and they in return besought his Majesty, That at the same time that they offer'd their Concession to His Majesty, the Brethren on the other side might also bring in theirs, containing the utmost they would abate and yield to in order to Concord; and the King promis'd them it should be so.* Cal. ab. Baxter's Life, p. 144.

According to this Direction of the King they met and agreed upon a Paper, with a most Humble Address to His Majesty; they make Four Preliminary Requests to the King, and then offer'd their Proposals, an Abstract of which you have in Mr. Calamy's *Abridgment* aforesaid, p. 145. and for the Faithfulness of the Quotation the Reader is referr'd to the Original, which is to be seen in Print.

First, They request, *That serious Godliness might be countenanced; a Learned and Pious Minister in each Parish encouraged; that a Personal, Publick, owning the Baptistmal Covenant might precede an Admission to the Lord's Table; and that the Lord's Day might be strictly sanctified.* They offer to allow of the true, ancient, Primitive Precedency in the Church, with a due Mixture of Presbyters, in order to the avoiding the Corruptions, Partiality, Tyranny, and other Evils, which are incident to the Administration of a single Person; the Things which they principally blamed in the *English Frame*, were the great Extent of the Bishops Dioceses: Their deputing Commissioners, Chancellors, and Officials, to act in their Stead. Their assuming their sole Power of Ordination and Jurisdiction, and acting so arbitrarily in Visitation Articles; bringing in new Ceremonies, and suspending Ministers at Pleasure. And for reforming these Evils, they proposed, that Bishop Usher's *Reduction of Episcopacy unto the Form of Synodical Government* received in the ancient Church should be the Ground-work of an Accommodation; and that Suffragans should be chosen by the respective Synods: The Associations be of a moderate Extent; the Ministers to be under no Oaths, or Promises of Obedience

bedience to the Bishops, as being responsible for any Transgression of the Law; and that the Bishops govern not by Will and Pleasure, but according to Rules, Canons and Constitutions, that should be ratified and establish'd by Act of Parliament. As to the *Liturgy*, they owned the Lawfulness of a prescribed Form of Publick Worship, but desir'd that some Learned, and Pious, and Moderate Divines of both sorts might be employed, either to compile a new *Liturgy*, or to reform the old, adding some other varying Forms in Scripture Phrase, to be used at the Minister's choice. As to the *Ceremonies* they humbly represented, that the Worship of God was perfect without them; that God hath declared himself in Matters of Worship a jealous God; that the Reformed Churches abroad, most of them rejected the Ceremonies that were reclaimed here; that here in *England* they had ever since the Reformation been Matters of Contention and Dispute; that they had occasioned the silencing of many Pious and Useful Ministers, and given Rise to many Separations from the Church: That they were at best but indifferent, and in their own Nature mutable; and therefore they begg'd that kneeling at the Sacrament might not be imposed, and that the Surplice and the Cross in Baptism, and the bowing at the Name of *Jesus*, rather than *Christ*, or *Emanuel*, might be abolished, and that Care might be taken to prevent future Innovations, contrary to Law; that so the Publick Worship might be free not only from Blame but Suspicion.

Does this look like a Proposal from Men that did not dissent, but upon Factionous and Politick Principles? 'Tis hard there shou'd be any Occasion to revive the Discourse of these Things, at a Time when we wish for that *Peace and Union* which Her Majesty has so earnestly invited us to. But these Men of Storms and Heat, who are wilfully ignorant themselves, are willing other Men should be blindly so; and therefore 'tis necessary a little to refresh their Memory, and to shew

shew to the World that this Schism and Separation of the Dissenters was wholly occasion'd by the Church refusing to give up indifferent Things, and imposing those indifferent Things as Terms of Communion upon the Consciences of all the People.

The King upon the Ministers delivering in the Proposals and Address *Treated them very respectfully*, says the same Author, *renew'd his Professions of his earnest Desires of an Accommodation of the Differences; told them he was well pleas'd that they agreed to a Liturgy, and yielded to the Essence of Episcopacy.*

Here is an Acknowledgment from the Head of the Church, that the Dissenters were for an Accommodation, agreed to a Liturgy, and to the Essence of Episcopacy, and yet our Modern Men of Peace will throw all the Breach upon the Dissenters.

Now, Gentlemen, let us examine your Christian-High-Church Temper these yielding, complying, Dissenters met with, that we may see whether they were out, or were driven out from the Church.

The Dissenters that were to be, *for Yet they were not so*, expected according to their Request, and His Majesty's Promise, to be met with by the Divines on the other Side, and to see their Proposals, but none appear'd; and after long expecting their Condescensions and Compliances, at last they receiv'd a Satyrical Answer by way of Reflection to their Proposals, but not one Word of Condescension and Compliance.

'As to *Church Government*, they declare for the former Hierarchy without any Alteration; and invidiously insinuate, that their Reflections on the Consequences of a single Person's Administration in the Church, was as applicable to the Civil State. The *Extent of Diocesses* they declare suitable enough to the Bishop's Office; and the *Administration of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction by Chancellors, &c.* Regular in the Main. *Bishop Usher's Reduction* they reject as inconsistent with Two other of his Discourses, as being at best but a heap of Private Conceptions. The *Liturgy* they
'applaud

'applaud as unexceptionable, and think it can't be
 'said to be too Rigorously imposed, when Ministers
 'are not denied the Exercise of their Gifts in Praying
 'before and after Sermon; which Sort of Praying,
 'they declare however, is but the continuance of a
 'Custom of no great Authority, and grown into Com-
 'mon use by Sufferance only, without any other
 'Foundation in the Laws and Canons. The Revising
 'the *Liturgy* nevertheless they yield to, if his Majesty
 'thinks fit. As for the *Ceremonies*, they could not
 'part with one; not being able to think that the Sa-
 'tisfaction of some Private Persons was to be laid in
 'Ballance against the Publick Peace, and Uniformity
 'of the Church. Nay, were any Abatements made,
 'they are satisfied unquiet Spirits would be thereby
 'encouraged to make further Demands.

Ecce signum, here's the Foundation of the Dissenters
 Schism in Three Heads.

Episcopal Hierarchy without Alteration.

*Liturgy Unexceptionable, and impossible to be too Rigo-
 rously Impos'd.*

Ceremonies, not one to be parted with.

Pray, Gentlemen, how long have ye alter'd your
 Minds, that you can now say *you won't quarrel with us
 for Habits, Ceremonies, or Ordination*; and when we
 offer'd to agree with you in every thing else, you
 would have *your Ordination without Alteration*, you
 would not part with *one of the Ceremonies*; and thought
*your Liturgy Unexceptionable, and that it cou'd not be too
 Rigorously Impos'd*? How long is it since these Gen-
 tlemen have been of a better Opinion? And when all
 is done, how shall we be sure their Proposal is Genuine,
 while we have experienc'd so much Falsity and ill-
 grounded Passion, as before?

Here now is the Picture of a High-Church Chal-
 lenge, to which we may very well Answer, we are the
 same that we were when we made the Proposals to
 King Charles the Second, and we have a great deal of
 Reason to believe you are the same too. *Ill Nature sel-*

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dom turns Changling. 'Tis true, you did promise us fine things, you promised to come to a Temper with the Dissenters, and declar'd 'twas your Principle to give an Ease to Consciences truly Scrupulous; and upon this Foot you obtain'd upon us to join with you in the Revolution: Now you talk of Honesty, pray, Gentlemen, do us the Favour to let us know in what you ever perform'd that Promise, and when we are to expect it?

Now you shall be put to Trial of your Honesty and Justice, what Commission you had from the Convocation to tell us you would not Differ about *Habits, Ceremonies, Liturgy and Ordination*, I know not, and believe you will be puzzled to produce it: But I venture to say to you from abundance of the Dissenters, *that then you shall differ with us for nothing*; Remit us these, and we will Conform to you, and be all One Church and One People.

'Tis about these Things Chiefly you Differ with us; you have no Pretences but these upon us: The Articles of Rebellion, Forty One; the *Rye-House Plot*, *Castares's* Evidences, and more: We can allow you all these, and many more than is true, and yet prove that your Principles are as Disloyal, and your Practices have been as full of Rebellion, as ours; you have made as many Insurrections against the Established Governors of the Nation as we; you have made as many Factions against the Princes and the Laws, took up Arms as often, kill'd as many Kings, or endeavour'd it, as we; and how often have you been Challeng'd to come to a Test of your Loyalty with us? But you are Proof against Argument; and without taking notice of these things, or of any thing else that stands against you, you *Repeat and Repeat* your Raillings, and suffer your Tongues to Launch out in a senseless and insignificant manner *In Infinitum*.

And to help load the Dissenters with Infamy, you Charge them with all that has been done in *Scotland*, where the Arbitrary Tyranny of State Ministers often

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times made the People Desperate: No wonder if from such Principles you can Charge them with Burning the City of *London*. One would think these Gentlemen's Passions should not make them forget their Reason so much, as to expose their Proceedings to their own Friends.

Did not the Committee of Parliament fix the Firing of the City upon the *Roman Catholics*, by the irresistible Testimony of the Persons concern'd; and why must the Dissenters do it? Had you brought them by Persecution to such desperate Fortunes, to such Despair, as to set Fire to their own Houses? Were there not almost as many of them Burnt out as of the Church?

The ridiculous Fury of these Men is an Answer to themselves; and upon the whole, I offer to make out, That the Dissenters have, on all Occasions, behav'd themselves with as much Zeal for the Government, as much Sincerity to the Sovereign, and as much Loyalty, as the Church has done, let them begin the Debate when they please.

On the other Hand, I'll prove, That the High Church Party has tyranniz'd over them by all the Illegal, Unchristian Methods possible, endeavouring to drive them to the Extremitities of Despair and Rebellion.

I'll prove by the Preachings, Printings, and declared Judgment, of several of the most zealous High Party, that however the Practice was disown'd by the Party, upon the unseasonable exposing it, by the Book, call'd, *The Shortest Way*; yet that it has all along been their Desire, and very often in their Design; and I appeal for the Truth of it, among many Instances, to a Letter of a known Church-man, whose Original I have by me, being wrote to a Person who sent him the Book for a Present.

SIR,

I Received yours, and enclosed the Book call'd, The Shortest Way with the Dissenters, for which I thank you; and, next to the Holy Bible, and Sacred Comments, I place it as the most Valuable Thing I can have. I look upon it as the only Method, and I pray God to put it into the Heart of our most Gracious Queen to put what is there propos'd in Execution.

Here is the Character of a High-Church man drawn to the Life; but when in a Post or Two this Gentlemen understood it was wrote by a Dissenter, in his next he sends up an Invidious Character of a Whig, and what, in his Opinion, such a one deserv'd.

And now, Gentlemen, would Reason and Arguments serve for a Reply to you, I should go on with your voluminous Rapsody of Scandal; but really it is so full of Rudeness, and Want of Manners, as well as Want of Truth, that I chuse to let it go, and return to your Challenge about our Conformity; and this you direct us to lay before the Convocation, which I cannot but make some just Exceptions to.

1. I see no Reason to believe the Convocation has given you any Authority to make the Proposal; I cannot but believe that the Convocation knows too well what, and how often, the Dissenters have offer'd the very Thing these Gentlemen propose; the Convocation cannot be ignorant that all Proposals of Amendment and Abatement are Ungrateful and Disagreeable to the Temper of these High-Churchmen; and the Convocation could not be guilty of so much Imprudence to offer that to us now, which we have so often offer'd them to no Purpose.

2. I see no Reason to believe the Convocation will perform the Conditions these Gentlemen propose, viz. to abate the Habits, Ceremonies, Liturgies, and Ordination; and therefore, Gentlemen you are de-

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fired to take back your own Words with this fair Proposal.

Whenever the Church of *England* ceases to quarrel with us about Habits, Ceremonies, Liturgies, and Ordination, we are content that those Dissenters which shall after that refuse to Conform, may be taxed with being unwilling to have the Breach healed, with being obstinate Dissenters, or what you please.

'Tis an unaccountable Assurance in any Author to advance such a Notion to the World; in which, had they Power but of Reflection on themselves, they must of Necessity see they were in the Wrong.

Pray, Gentlemen, what do you think we differ with you for? We hope you are Protestants; we have own'd you a true Church, and that we differ from you in nothing Doctrinal, or absolutely Necessary for Salvation? Will ye keep your Words with us? Then here is your Challenge answer'd.

Get the Convocation to pass it into an Act, that the Church will not quarrel with us about *Habits, Ceremonies, Liturgies and Ordination*, the Schism be upon us if we do not Conform.

If you can't do this, then make us no more Challenges, never write to us to tell you upon what Terms we will Conform; we are ready to Conform upon your own Terms; we take you at your own Words; do but perform what you have voluntarily propos'd, we are your own.

Not but that we have great Reason to say, we know very well that this Offer is neither in your Power, nor in your Nature; not in your Power, as private Men; not in the Nature of your High Church, as a Party.

Nor is it any Breach of Charity to say so, because we have had so much Experience of your Temper on all Occasions in this Matter; and in particular, in the Conferences at the *Savoy*, where the Dissenters made all the Concessions of Charity and Obedience that they were able to do with any Safety to their Consciences;

they went through the Common-Prayer-Book, and propos'd only such Amendment as they found absolutely necessary to make it tollerable to them, and their Hearers; they offer'd to dispute upon the Amendments they had made, and to justify all their Objections by the Scriptures.

In a Word, they offer'd to Conform so far as they were able to answer it to God, their Consciences, and the World; and he that requires Men to offer more, or else rejects them, and shuts them out of their Communion, wou'd do well to tell us who are the Authors of the Schism.

But after all, these Gentlemen, by what I can perceive, are as ignorant in the Thing they call Schism, as they seem to be in other Things; and we have the Testimony of the House of Lords, in which there concurr'd most of the Bishops of the Church of *England*, that *the Dissenters are not Schismaticks*. See the Reasons of the Lords against the Bill to prevent *Occasional Conformity*.

And had these Gentlemen bethought themselves when they charge us with this Schism, for separating from the Church, they would have reflected a little on Mr. *Hales*, of *Eaton*, a Sober and Judicious Divine of the Church of *England*, who, in his Treatise of Schism lets them know, that separating in Communion from any particular Church is not a Schism, if the Persons are not separated from the whole Body of Christians; but he that holds the Head, holds fast the Faith, and does not divide in Faith and Doctrine, cannot be said to be guilty of Schism for his refusing to join in Communion with this, or that particular Church. The Church of Christ is that whole Body of Christians, however dispers'd all over the World, who are united to him by Faith, and are the Members composing and join'd to his Mystical Body, professing the same Doctrine and Faith, tho' divided into never so many several Communities, Societies, and other Parts.

If this be to be Schismaticks, 'tis plain the Dissenters are no Schismaticks; and thus we have the Testimony of the Church Ministers, we have the Vote of the Church of *England* Bishops, and a Majority of the House of Peers, that the Dissenters are no Schismaticks.

What shall we say now? If the Dissenters are allow'd by the Church not to be Schismaticks; and if the House of Lords concur in the Vote; and if you will not quarrel with us for Habit, Ceremonies, Liturgy or Ordination; *Pray let these Authors tell us what is the Difference among us?* The People may soon be united, for here is little left to dispute of.

What then is it we are treated for in such a Scandalous Manner? For what is it we are call'd by Sir *H. M.* a People unsafe to be trusted with any part of the Administration? In what are we dangerous to the Government? In what is it unsafe to trust us? Why, *You are Enemies to Monarchy*, and always plotting against the Government, says these Learn'd and Passionate Authors.

Say you so, Sirs? We will come to an Account of Plots against Monarchy and Government when you will; and whenever we do, you will be found guilty of more than we.

But you have given us a long List of Dissenters Plots, as you call them, and of People executed for them. First of all, I believe 'twould be hard to prove the Dissenters were in a Plot every time some of them were hang'd for it: And we have seen some Church of *England* Parliaments *Unhang them again*, as far as they could, to do Justice to their Posterity: But I shall not ravel into the List of Dissenters Plots at this time; only I cannot avoid telling this Author that he has not given a fair Account of them; the Dissenters, Sir, have been guilty of more Plots against the Government than you charge them with, and more have been executed for it than you tell us of; for I assure you the Author of this wears a Mourning Ring on his Finger, given at the Funeral of Mr. *Christopher Love*, a Presbyterian Minister, Beheaded *Anno 1653*, for the horrid Phana-

tick Plot, contriv'd for the bringing in, *as they then call'd him, Charles Stuart*, and the restoring of Monarchy.

And now we come to examine a little this Author's preposterous Motion, that we should give in our Grievances to the Convocation. Why truly, Gentlemen, we have Grievances which the Convocation might redress, but we don't expect they will; and some of them are as follows,

1. 'Tis our Grievance to be falsely accus'd, as Mismanagers of the late Reign, when we had little or nothing to do in it; as unsafe to the Government, when we have all along endeavour'd to uphold it; as Enemies to Peace, when we challenge all our Enemies to testifie who has the greatest Zeal for the publick Concord, the Dissenters, or the Church.

2. 'Tis our Grievance to be challeng'd to show on what Terms we can Conform, and large Concessions offer'd us in the Name of the Convocation by Men who are so far from having any Authority from the Convocation, that the Gentlemen of that Assembly do not think it worth while to own what they say, or perform what they promise, in their Names, as it certainly is in this Case.

3. It is a Grievance to us, and to the whole Nation, that we should at first, to gratifie a Party, and to fortifie the State Policy of Tricking and Designing Men, be driven out, and cast off, from the Church-Communion, and the Society of Fellow-Christians, for Trifles, and Things Indifferent.

Perhaps, I am not of so free an Opinion as to the Indifferency of all the Things in which we Differ as the Church themselves; but they are allow'd by the Church themselves to be Indifferent, and they are particularly Indifferent in the Sense of Indifferency explain'd as before; and therefore, *ad hominem*, they are really Indifferent: Even the whole of Church Discipline is so far Indifferent, that whether this or that Model be settled either Party are allow'd to be capable of Salvation without prejudice to their Belief in that Head; or to speak plain,

plain, a Man may go to Heaven in the Practice of either of them, but yet as Conscience directs, ought to have Liberty to Chuse for himself.

But to be cast out of Christian Communion for Trifles, *for such are all the Indifferent Things compar'd to the more Essential Points of Religion*, this is a Grievance; and this is indeed the Original Grievance, and the first Cause of all their Separation, which our Author calls Schism, to impose what they own the Scripture does not impose.

'Tis my Opinion, generally speaking, that no Church can justify keeping out any Person from their Communion, for any thing that will not in its own Nature and Circumstances keep him out of Heaven: To keep us out of the Communion of the Church for things which you own we may be saved without, will find but slender Authority in the Scripture to Justifie.

But after all, suppose our Grievances were laid before the Convocation, will this Author assure us of Relief this Way? Will he undertake to tell us any thing the Convocation has done that Way for any Body? Nay, will he be pleas'd to tell us, whether that Body, who have now Set above Fifteen Years Annually, have done one Act or Thing for the Benefit of the Church they Represent? Will he please to give the World a History of their Actions, and engage to make out they have done any thing but Wrangle among themselves for so long time? These Men of Uniformity, have they had any Uniform Proceedings? *Have they, in short*, done any thing worthy of themselves, or the Church they Represent? If they have, we would be glad to hear it; if they have not, to what Purpose should we apply to them for the Healing our Breaches.

Besides this, let us ask him another Question, Do the Convocation agree among themselves? Have not some Gentlemen fill'd the World with Volumes and learned Tracts on little Matters, relating to Adjournings and Re-

cesses of that Assembly ; and that one Difficulty seems not yet Master'd, and how can we expect that Spirit of Candor, that Temper and Peaceable Mind, which is absolutely necessary to bring to pass so great a Blessing as this of a Protestant Union? How can we look for it from an Assembly that cannot Decide their own Controversies, nor Heal their own Breaches.

Upon the whole, it seems to me this Man of Gall has over-shot himself, has gone beyond his Commission, and has made a Proposal he had no Authority for, and promis'd for People that will not perform for him.

Wherefore, upon the whole Matter, as we have small Reason to hope for a Reconciliation of Principles, I think the present Business of the Nation is to arrive at a Reconciliation of Parties, a Conjunction of Interests, a General Union of Affection, where there cannot be a Union of Opinions ; that the Strife of Parties and Factions may cease, and that Clamour and Contention may be at an end.

Could this be brought to pass, it would really be the greatest Step towards Conjunction in Religious Matters.

First, This would make our Charity extensive, and we should not make it our constant business to Accuse, but Excuse, One Another ; Reproachful Terms and Marks of Distinction would die of course ; Protestant would be the Common Name of all Opinions.

God be prais'd, we are all of One Religion in *England*, tho' we Differ about Methods: We pretend to be all Travelling to Heaven, tho' we fall out by the Way ; and we fall out about the Way too : But if every Man disturb'd himself less about the Course his Neighbour Steers, and concern'd himself more about his own, there would more find the right Way thither, *as far as Humane Conduct is concern'd in the Voyage to Heaven.*

As to the Dissenters in *England*, they are Misrepresented to the Nation, that they are for Tumults and Rebellions, Insurrections, and pulling down Monarchy,

archy, and Governments; enough has been said here, and elsewhere, to Invite the Accusers to a fair Debate; but the present Case chiefly respects their Interest. They are not a Small, nor a Poor Sort in the Nation: The old Proverb of, Interest won't lye, is on their side; *Men of Estates are never for pulling down Houses, Burning Towns, and Ruining Nations*; 'tis Natural for Trading Men to be Wise for themselves; 'tis Men of Desperate Fortunes are for Embroiling Kingdoms, and setting States and Governments into a Flame.

The Dissenters in *England*, generally speaking, are the Men of Trade and Industry; and what Estates they have, lye principally in Stock of Goods, Houses, and Credit. No Publick Disaster can befall the Nation, but what affects their Estates more than other Men's; Banks Stocks, Trade, Foreign and Domestick: These are the first Things that suffer on any Publick Disorder; and none of those People who are thus Embark'd in Trade, can be properly thought to desire Disasters, and Revolutions, because they are generally the first that feel it.

There may, indeed, be some Men among them that want Principles, and may Act ill, but these are few, and not Remarkable; the generality of the Dissenters must be blind to their own Interests, as well as Enemies to the Government, and their Neighbours, when they promote Factions and Divisions in the State.

It may not be amiss to observe in this Case what I Appeal to any Man's Judgment in, besides my own, in the particular Article of Stocks in the City, when the People are uneasy at any Publick Matters, and the Prospect of Affairs looks with an ill Aspect, *the Stocks fall*; again, on the contrary, when they are easie, the Stocks rise, and the Stock-Jobbers frequently Manage such Occasions; and on this Head 'tis observ'd, That in the Case of a certain Bill depending in the House, when the People thought it would be pass'd, Stocks fell; again, when the talk of it began

to be laid aside, *as it really was for some time*, all Stocks rose in Price; and when it came to a Period, they still advanc'd again.

Not that I argue from hence that the Dissenters are the Chief Parties Interested in the Stocks, for 'tis plain they are not; but from hence may be seen by any Man, who does not put out his own Eyes, the great Benefit of Peace and Union, the Effect it has on Trade, Credit, and the Value of Estates.

Besides, the Author of this Book discovers a Spirit of too much Rancor and Malice, to make it fit to talk with him. I am told he is not an *English*-man; and, indeed, he seems not to be an *English* man, by his furious way of Treating the *English* Nation, at a time when they are all inclin'd to Peace with one another; the least thing can be said of him in this Case is, that he discovers Impotent Rage at a People, who, God be prais'd, are out of his Reach; and the Remnant of his Railing Talent may lye either against the Lords, who have rejected the *Occasional Bill*, on whom, without doubt, he will plentifully bestow the usual Titles of a Faction, a Party, Low Church Men, and the like.

Or else he may give himself a Loose at the Queen, who, several of his Habit, *for we understand he is a Brother of the Gown*, have left off to pray for, except at Church, where they cannot help it; and as Mr. ——— of *High-Wickham* has entirely left Her Majesty out of his Grace after Meat, ever since Her Speech to the Houses of Parliament for Peace and Union; so these Gentlemen may be expected with him, to give Her Majesty a Cast of their Foul Language as soon as they dare do it.

But one Word with this Gentleman, and then I conclude, and that is about Plotting, for the Dissenters have been his Plotters and his Rebels all along, and have on all Occasions been very roughly handled by him, as to Associations, Treasons, Rebellions, and the like.

Now

Now I would fain desire this Gentleman, to tell us a little News about a Plot in *Scotland*; Her Majesty has given Her Parliament an Account that She has Unquestion'd Information of a Plot in *Scotland*; for our parts we expected it from the Malignancy of the Party there; but now a Declaration of its Unquestion'd reality from the Throne, has put the Matter of Fact out of Question.

Now, as this Gentleman keeps a very good Correspondence there, which appears by his own Writing, I could most earnestly recommend to him to inform the World, how many Dissenters, or Presbyterians, there are concerned in it.

Without doubt he can make it appear there are no *High-Churchmen* in it; for they, Good Men, are of such untainted Principles, as to Loyalty; they are so true to the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, and Non-Resistance, that 'tis impossible they can ever be concern'd in any such thing; no, no, it must all go upon the poor Papists; those Roman Catholicks are sad Fellows; they are always plotting, and these Whigs and Dissenters they must have a Hand in it; just as this Author says they had in the Fire of *London*; the Dissenters were, indeed, very eager to set the Nation in a Flame, when they set Fire to their own Houses to begin it.

But alas for us! What shall we say now, if it may be prov'd that here are a great many High-flying Churchmen in this Plot? Then *the Wolf will be Strip'd indeed*. What if here should be *Depos'd Bishops, Non-Jurant Parsons, and High-Church Episcoparian Scotsmen* in this Plot, against the Queen and Her Government? What shall we say then? Why, I'll tell you what they will say; they'll say that Presbyterian Tyranny has drove them to such Extremities, that Flesh and Blood could bear no longer. To which I shall answer, Not at all granting the Truth of Fact, that just as much had the Rebels at——and *Bothwell-Bridge*, to say, That Episcopal, Prelatick, Tyranny drove them to such Extremities, that Flesh and Blood could bear no longer.

From

From whence I draw this short Inference, That whether they are Churchmen or Dissenters, one Religion or another, when Men think themselves oppress'd, let their Principles and Pretence be what they will, they will always forget those Pretences, Nature will prevail; they will attempt their Freedom, and seek by Force to resist Force.

Church of *Engalnd*, Church of *Rome*, Church of *Scotland*, Church of *France*, any Church in the World,

When'er they are Oppress'd, they will Rebel.

But one thing, we must tell these Gentlemen, they differ from their Brother Rebels in; that they have plotted and rebell'd with half the Oppressions and Tyranny as others have done before them.

And if ever these Gentlemen please to compare the *Sad and Doleful Sufferings* of the Episcopal Dissenters in *Scotland*, of *which they have made so much Noise*, with the Miseries, Murthers, Plunders, and Barbarous Usage of the Dissenters in *Scotland* for 30 Years before, it will be easily seen which had the most Cause to cry out of, *Flesh and Blood being able to bear no longer*; and whenever they please to enter into the Detail of these Things, we are ready to join Issue with them on this Head.

The Author, or Authors of this Wolfish Book would have done well to have taken Advice from a Gentleman of their own Party, and who writes on the same Subject, who has said much more to the Purpose, and in Language much more suitable to common Civility, and good Manners; I mean the Author of a Book, Entitled, *Union to the Church of England Freely Offer'd, and Earnestly Recommended, to the Dissenters from it, of all Perswasions; but particularly to the Occasional Conformists.*

Now, tho' I am of the Opinion that the Arguments that Gentlemen makes use of may be answer'd, yet

I must acknowledge to his Honour, that while on the one Hand he discovers himself to be of High-Church Principles, yet he shews himself a Man of Temper, a Scholar, and a Gentleman; and if ever he is replied to, ought to be treated accordingly; the Candor with which he treats the Party he writes against, at least deserves this Acknowledgment, that he is the first of that Side that has used them civilly, and is thereby just so much the harder to be confuted, for railing is much larger answer'd than Argument.

I leave Dr. *Davenant* and to answer those Parts of the Scurrilous Invectives relating to them, which 'tis not so much a Question whether they can, as whether 'tis worth while for them, or any Body else, to reply to so much Railery.

Nor, indeed, had this been wrote, but to repeat to the World how willing the Dissenters are at all times to enter into the Merits of the Cause, to let the World see the Reasons of their Dissent, and how willing they are upon such Concessions, as Reason and Conscience calls for, to come to a general Union with their Protestant Brethren, notwithstanding all the Misrepresentation of High-Church Malice to the contrary.

A

Challenge of PEACE.

Address'd to the

Whole Nation.

WITH

An Enquiry into WAYS and MEANS for bringing it to pass.

To the QUEEN.

MADAM,

AS the whole Nation are happy in the Things You Do, so they are particularly Attentive to what You Say. The Speeches your Majesty is pleas'd to make in Parliament, are look'd upon as Words spoken to all the Kingdom, and their Influences are accordingly Universal.

Of all the Expressions that ever pass'd from Your Royal Lips, I humbly presume, none ever sounded in the Ears of Your Protestant Subjects with so General Applause, as Your Royal Invitation to Peace and Union among themselves.

Your Majesty has, by this one Step, let all the World know, that You not only Seek, but perfectly understand the General Good of your People, and the Only way to make them Invincible.

It remains to your Subjects, to Accept your Royal Proposal, and look upon it as the most binding Obligation, since when Princes stoop to Invite their People to what was before their Duty, it carries with it the double Force of a Command.

Your Subjects, Madam, who wish for Peace, are Encourag'd to seek and pursue it, while they are now satisfied, that so long as they follow the Natural Dictates of their own Reason, they also Concur with the Judgment, and obey the obliging Commands of their Sovereign.

Those unhappy People, who either from the Severity of their Principles, or really for want of Principles, are otherwise Enclin'd, that are for Suppressing their Protestant Brethren for Opinions in Religion, or for Oppressing their Neighbours for Interest and Parties, may now be satisfied, that while they pursue that Unchristian and Impolitical Method, they not only weaken, but disoblige your Majesty, and Your real Interest.

And by this your Majesty will plainly see who are Your best Subjects, those who willingly embrace the Peace, and General Charity of Christians and English-Men, according to your Majesties obliging Exhortation, or they, who, by keeping up the Differences of your Subjects, and by continual Reproachings and Reflections, endeavour to Represent Your peaceable People as Enemies to your Person and Government, tho' they are, and ever have been, as Dutiful and Loyal as themselves.

Such may see their Practices discourag'd, by your Majesties healing Example, and would do well to consider, that their peculiar Duty to your Majesty lies not in Recriminating upon the Infirmities of others, but in Correcting their own.

Your Majesty has this compleat Satisfaction concerning all your Subjects, that the principal part of their Contention, which Party are most Loyal to your Government, and among those who Dissent from the Church, None of them dissent from your Interest; and those Gentlemen who would persuade the World, that Those who Dissent from the Ecclesiastick Establishment, are also Enemies to the Civil, have

have been driven to a Necessity of a suppos'd Extending the Civil Power beyond the Limits of the Laws, to bring those People they would Expose, to so much as a Temper of Objecting against it. — This is a Method so grossly Injurious to your Majesty, as well as to your Subjects; that it has been long earnestly wish'd You would, on some Occasion or other, let them know how ill pleasing it was, and how ill it Corresponded, both with your Majesty's Principle as well as Practice, in all the parts of Your Government.

'Tis an unhappy Violence these Men offer to Your Majesty's Character, that they would be content to have your Majesty become a Tyrant, so they might but be capable to prove the Dissenters Disloyal to your Government.

But as we bless God that your Majesty has resolv'd to regulate your Government, by the great Foundation of all Government, the Laws; so we cannot think we offend your Majesty in saying, that in a full Obedience to your Government, and the Laws, none of your Subjects have exceeded in Loyalty more than those that have, at the same time, Dissented in some Point of Religion from the Establish'd Church.

And among those who thus Dissent, they whose Principles are Honest, have always regarded the Church of England, with a Temper both of Charity and Respect; and 'tis to them a matter of no difficulty to entertain a Proposal of Union in Affection and Interest, and to give all the Difference and Distinction in Government, to the Establish'd Church.

From whence, and your Majesty's most Generous Invitation to Peace, which, on all occasions, they most readily Embrace, they humbly hope the Heats and Animosities of those Gentlemen, who Charge them with Disloyalty of Principles, will, in Obedience to your Most Gracious Speech to your Parliament, be Buried and forgotten, that they may Enjoy, together with all your Loyal Subjects, the publick Favour and Protection of their Sovereign, till they give your Majesty some just Cause, which God forbid, to withdraw it from them.

And if this cannot be obtain'd, your Majesty, and all the World will be Witnesses to their sincere Desires, and forward

Endeavours

Endeavours after the General Union of your Subjects, and will be effectually satisfied at whose Doors the black Charge will lye, and to whom we Owe all the unhappy Divisions of the Nation.

Your Protestant Subjects, Madam, who, as Your Majesty once observ'd, have the misfortune to Dissent from the Establish'd Church, have yet a greater misfortune than that, Namely, to be Misrepresented to Your Majesty as Enemies to Your Person and Government; but among all their Unhappiness, they Esteem this as a Blessing from Heaven, that they have now an Opportunity offer'd them to Convince Your Majesty of the honesty of their Principles, by being the forwardest to close with Your Invitation of Peace and Union, as the Thing in all the World which most suites both their Practice and Inclination.

Humbly assuring Your Majesty, that as with the greatest Thankfulness they receive the Expressions of Your Earnest Desires for the Peace and Union of all Your Subjects, so, with a steady Application, they resolve to be the first who shall publickly Practice it, and endeavour to Express their Zeal for the Publick Good, and Your Majesty's Glory, by heartily complying with what they were always Inclined to by their Principles and Inclinations, but much more by the Obedience their Duty Calls for to Your Majesty's Commands of Peace and Union.

The Humblest of your Subjects, Madam, would have Subscrib'd his Name to a Petition of Pardon, for the Presumption of this Dedication; but that when he compares his Despicable Character with the Glorious Subject he has attempted to Advance; he cannot prevail upon himself to let the Cause suffer by the Meaness and Unworthiness of the Advocate, and only Craves leave to assure Your Majesty, that however he may have been Represented, he is a passionate Admirer of Peace, an Earnest Petitioner for the Prosperity of your Majesty, and this Kingdom, and the entire Union of all Your Subjects.

Amen.

A

Challenge of PEACE.

ADDRESS'D,

To the whole NATION.

WHEN her Majesty in her Speech to the Parliament press'd the House to Union and Peace, I believe 'twas Included, in her Royal Intentions, that we should all Understand her speaking to the whole Nation, and that her Majesty would have all her Subjects study Concord and Unanimity among themselves in their Neighbourhood and Converse, as well as in the Councils and Debates of their Representatives in Parliament.

I cannot suppose her Majesty should mean *a Union of Opinions in Religion*, for tho' I ought to believe her Majesty Wishes all her Protestant Subjects were of one mind with her self, and followed her Majesty in the same path to Heaven, yet, I cannot believe her Majesty sees it so probable as to expect it. But I suppose her Majesty to mean that they should all Unite in Affection, where they differ in Opinion; Unite in Interest, and Concur in their Obedience to the Establish'd Government; Unite in a Unanimous Agreement of

Manage-

Management, and Unite as to Parties and Factions; Unite as *English-men*, as Christians, and as Protestants. This every good Christian would be glad to see, and this every Man ought to suppose himself Invited to in her Majesty's Speech.

If I am mistaken, as I believe I am not, let any Man give me a Construction of her Speech more Genuine if they can.

These Sheets are design'd as a Comment upon this Glorious Text, and farther, to explain the Subject, and, if possible, both describe the Sense, and remove the Obstructions.

'Tis a most fatal unhappy Circumstance that every Body is for Peace, and yet no Body will bring it to pass; all Men agree that Peace is a Blessing from on High; that the want of it among our selves Undoes us, Ruins our Preparations at Home, and our Expeditions Abroad, fills us with Fatal Parties, Factions and Animosities; makes our Councils confused; Our War tedious; Our Designs abortive, and our Felicity precarious; want of Peace and Unity among our selves makes our Arms less fear'd, our Friendship less courted, and, in short, is the only thing in the World can ever Ruine us.

I am perswaded there's not a Man in the Nation but concurs in these Generals; but when you come to speak of the particular Steps to be taken to obtain this Blessed Article of the Nation's Happiness, all Men are for having their Neighbours stoop to their Opinions, but wont yield a jot of their own; they are for making Abatements for other Men, but admit of none for themselves.

To come directly to the Point concerning this Union of Parties, I think 'tis necessary a little to Examine the Negatives, which are not the ways to obtain this Blessing. As

First, *Sa*——*ell's* Bloody Flag of Defiance is not the Way to Peace and Union, *the shortest Way to Destroy, is not the shortest Way to Unite*, Persecution, Laws

to Compel, Restrain, or force the Consciences of one another, is not the Way to this Union, which her Majesty has so earnestly Recommended.

Secondly, To Repeal or Contract the late Act of Toleration, is not the Way for this so much wish'd for Happiness; to have Laws reviv'd that should set one Party a Plundering, Excommunicating and Unchurching another, that should renew the Oppressions and Devastations of late Reigns, this will not, by any means, Contribute to this Peace, which all good Men desire.

New Associations and Proposals to divest Men of their Free-hold Right for Differences in Opinion, and take away the Right of Dissenters Voting in Elections of Members; this is not the way to Peace and Union.

Railing Pamphlets, buffooning our Brethren as a Party to be suppress'd, and dressing them up in the Bare's Skin for all the Dogs in the Street to bait them, is not the way to Peace and Union.

Railing Sermons, exciting People to Hatred and Contempt of their Brethren, because they Differ in Opinions, is not the way to Peace and Union.

Shutting all People out of Employment, and the Service of their Prince and Country, unless they can Comply with indifferent Ceremonies of Religion, is far from the way to Peace and Union.

Reproaching the Succession, settled by Parliament, and Reviving the Abdicated Title of the late King *James*, and his suppos'd Family, cannot tend to this Peace and Union.

Laws against *Occasional Conformity*, and Compelling People who bear Offices to a Total Conformity, and yet Force them to take and serve in those publick Employments, cannot contribute to Peace and Union.

These are some of the *Negative*, some of the immediate Contraries, the Opposites to this blessed Peace and Union, which her Majesty has Recommended to the whole Nation; while these things are practis'd or allow'd,

allow'd, I doubt her Majesty will be defeated of the Expectation She has from the Exhortation She has been pleas'd to make. The Breaches are too wide, the Wound too deep, and ranckl'd almost to a Gangreen, and if it goes long without a Cure, will certainly come to Amputation of Members, or to a Mortification of Parts. The Breaches of Parties, if not ended in a healing Agreement, will certainly end in the Suppression, if not the Destruction, of one Party, if not of all.

The Ways and Means for this Nation's Destruction are very plain and obvious; they are all within our selves; they are begun, and carried on, by our Selves; We dig the Grave of the Common-Wealth with our own Hands; the fire of Discord will burn up the very Bowels of the Nation, and Consume us insensibly, and all owing to the civil Fury of contending Parties. No Nation can destroy *England* but it self, and if the Feuds, and Heat of Parties, continue, no Nation can prevent our Destruction.

Her Majesty, sensible of the evil Consequence, has given a large and very seasonable Caution, and solemnly Invites all the Nation to lay aside the Contention of Parties, to embrace Peace, Love, Unity, and Conjunction of Interests, that uniting Hearts and Hands in the common Defence, the whole Government may be strengthened, her Majesty the more chearfully Assisted, and the Publick Burthen sustain'd.

To these blessed Ends all good Protestants ought to Contribute, as far as in them lyes; but as all Parties must yield part of their present stiffness to the great Conjunction her Majesty desires, I thought it might not be improper to let all Sides see some necessary Steps, which they not only should, but must, and ought, to take, in order to make this Heavenly Work possible.

I humbly conceive all the present Discord of this Nation may be comprehended in these Two,

Differences in Religion.

Differences in Interest.

One concerns the *Conscience*, and the other the *Estate*, but both are so twisted together, that it seems as if there were no Broil but about Religion, and that *the Church was the only Bone of Contention*.

But as they have generally least of Religion who Contend most about it, so in the publick Strife of Parties, there seems to be a Colour of Religion plac'd upon the General Contention, but really, at the bottom, the whole Quarrel is guided by the Interests of Parties, Places, Preferments, to get Some in, and Some out; this seems the main Thing in hand.

Parties Contend to get into the Executive Power, that they may put all their Friends into the great Places, and Offices of the Crown.

Some would have such a King, or such a Family to Succeed to the Crown, and why? Not so much because this King, or Prince, or Family, is of this, of that Religion, but because they are of such, or such a Party, and then such and such Friends get into Employment.

I don't say 'tis impossible to reconcile Parties, wave Differences, and bring all to a Temper of Peace, but there is so much to be done, so much Self-Denial of Practice requir'd, that I dare not say, *I hope to see it brought to pass*; and yet I shall not descend to Particulars, in order only to show the Difficulty, and so Discourage the Work; but to let you see, that tho' it may be Difficult, 'tis not Impossible.

The first Article of *Ways and Means* to this Peace must be found in the general Temper of the Nation: There must be a Propensity, a general Inclination to Yield and Bend to one another. 'Tis Nonsense to talk of Particulars, if the general Bent of Men's Thoughts

Thoughts are not first brought to Love, Seek, and Desire Peace; and were this once produc'd, Could any probable Steps be taken in this part, Could there be but an appearance of a Peaceable Temper in the Nation, the rest of the Work would be found easier than we imagine; all Differences would vanish, did but the Inclination to *Difference* vanish; did the wrangling Temper cease, were but the Spirit of Contention taken away, the Causes of Contention would not be so eagerly embrac'd: This is the Tinder of the Nation, which is so ready to catch hold of the Fire of Dissention; this unhappiness of Temper has been an Old and Epidemick Disease, and has got such ground among us, 'twill be very hard to have any thing but some publick Calamity to cure it; Affliction reconciles Friends, Common Dangers unite Nations, and Settle disjointed Parties; All are oblig'd to join in Common Defence.

But 'tis very hard, as well as unkind to our Selves, that we can never be in a Condition to be Reconcil'd to one another, till we are just at the Door of being ruin'd; That nothing but Enemies can persuade us to be Friends, and the more violent our Assaults are from Abroad, the more forward our Peace is at Home; from whence that Verse seems to be verified of the *English*,

*and by far,
Harder to Rule in Times of Peace than War:*

Now seems a prevailing Juncture to reduce us to a Temper of Peace; forreign Wars, tho' we feel them not in our own Bowels, yet one would think they have presented a Field spacious enough to vent all our Gall and ill Temper in, tho' the War has not been so Considerable, as to put us out of our Selves for fear, yet it has not been so inconsiderable, as not to afford us sufficient Reason for Unity, Union of Councils, Union of Purfes, Hands and Hearts, are all little enough.

But 'tis in vain to talk of Union, till the Temper of Disunited Parties is brought over to desire it; we may

Unite in Words, but we shall never do it in Affection, till all People are willing; Pretences of Union tend but to the widening the Breach, and is like Hypocrisy in Religion, Represented in Scripture, by *Drawing near to God with the Mouth, when the Heart is far from him.* He that presseth his Argument for this Temper should direct his Speech to all Parties, and to all such I freely say, they who have not this Temper of Peace, who do not encline to Union of Interest, and Union of Affection, are blind to the publick Benefit of their Native Country, Enemies to the present Government, Disrespectful and Disloyal to her Majesty, and Underminers of their own Posterity.

It may be expected very rationally, that I should enter into the particulars of Parties, and Examine who have most need to be Exhorted to Union and Peace; and tho' I would not be Partial to Parties, yet I cannot help advancing this general Head, that the main Article of Dissention, Strife and Contention, lies now on those Gentlemen who call themselves *High-Church-Men*. Who can the Invitation to Peace mean, but those People who *want the Hint*. 'Tis plain neither the Moderate Church-men, nor the Dissenters, can be meant. For they are desirous of Peace; it is their Interest, their Principle, and their Inclination; the Temper seems to be plainly seen there.

The High Church-men say, they are for Peace; but they are for Peace without Union; they are for the Peace of Subjection; they would have all be Peace, that is, their feet on the Necks of their Enemies: But 'tis Peace and Union the Queen has Spoke for, and 'tis to *these Gentlemen* the Speech is directed, for they chiefly stand in need of the Exhortation.

These are the Men who carry the heat of their Arguments out to the Extream of Reproach, and the Indecency of Contempt; these are the Men that Print, Preach, and Crie up all Modern Discontents that strive to blacken their Brethren with Marks of Distinction; these are they that have Stigmatiz'd all the Men of Moderation,

Moderation, with the Brand of Low-Church-men and all other Writings Represent them as Traytors to their Friends, to the Church, and to their own Principles, worse than Dissenters, Fanaticks or Schismaticks; and yet all I can find these Gentlemen Charg'd with, is, that they are not for *tearing People to pieces for Religion, and ruining their Dissenting Brethren the Shortest Way.*

These are the Gentlemen who have lifted up the *Bloody Flag* against their Protestant Neighbours, and declared, that all the True Church-men are bound to List in the New *Crusado* of the Church.

These are the Gentlemen who are for Confounding, and not Converting, their Friends the Dissenters, and instead of desiring them to Conform, are for preventing that Occasional Communion they can comply with, in order to keep them out of Places; so that they had rather keep up the Schism in the Church, than obtain a Union at the Price of their temporal Advancement, discovering a true Christian Spirit, in being *neither willing to let us Dissent, nor Conform.*

These are the Gentlemen that have the most need to learn the Doctrine of Peace and Union, since, if they pleased, we might be soon remov'd from the most Contentious divided Nation in the World, to an universal Family of Love and Christian Charity, endeavouring to win and engage one another by Mildness and Temper, and struggling to fortifie our Opinions by the Christian Emulation of Love and good Works.

The Charge seems great, but might easily be made out, that this Party only are the Aggressors in Contention.

The *Low-Church-Men*, as they call them, are Men of Moderation and Peace, and hated by these because they are so; they are neither for oppressing the Property, nor Imposing upon the Conscience; a large Charity for their fellow Christians, aversion to Persecution, tenderness of Property and the Laws, are *their peculiar Character.*

To these there is no occasion of speaking a Word, for they are, with her Majesty, Heart and Hand for Peace and Union.

To these we owe the Act of the Tolleration, and the quieting the uneasy Consciences of the People.

To these we owe the Restoring of Parliaments to their due Power, and that Power to its frequent exercise.

To these we owe the Disarming the Ecclesiastical Harpies, and paring the Talons and Claws of the Church Vultures, who were always tearing to pieces, and preying upon their Neighbours.

To these we owe the Currency and Supremacy of the Laws, and the Just Concession of Right made to the People.

To these we owe the late Revolution, Deposing the Dispensing Arbitrary Will of approaching Tyranny.

To these we owe the securing our Posterity in the possession of their indubitable Rights, under a Protestant Succession, and removing the Nation's Fears from a precarious unsettled futurity. What have not these Men of Peace done for us?

These are the Center to which all Parties, if they will have Peace, must incline.

To these the Dissenters freely and cheerfully remit the Trust of Government, and the Conduct of Constituted Right.

These are the Men whom the Dissenters are universally willing should Reign over them, and from among whom, if it was in their Choice, they would demand a King.

With these Liberty, Property, Conscience, Law, Justice, and all the parts of the Constitution are secure; their end is Peace, and their mean Justice and the Laws.

The Dissenters and these have but One Interest, and there never was a Man of these in Post of Trust or Honour in the Nation, who kept close to this Honest Principle, but the Dissenters lov'd him, stood by him, Voted for him, and in all Cases needful Vindicated and Encourag'd him.

Nor

Nor do the Dissenters stand in so much need of this peaceable hint relating to the Publick; for they have never been found embroyling the State, or breaking the publick Measures; they have been misrepresented as Engrossing and Possessing the places of Trust and Profit in the last Reign, but the Case remains unprov'd; and in all the black Roll of Mismanagement represented to her Majesty, in the Address of the House of Commons, I fairly Challenge any Man to shew me the Name of One Dissenter; they have suffer'd in the Calamities Occasion'd by those mis-Conducts, they have born the share of Taxes misapply'd, and Deficiencies of Funds; but they can never prove upon them, that any Dissenters were either Personally or Occasionally Instrumental in those Defects, your *Ran*——s, your *Sr. John M*——, *Sr. R*—— *G*——, *W*—— and *J*——, were none of them Dissenters, the Frauds and Treacheries of the late Reign cannot be laid at their Door.

All their Grievances are, that they suffer by other Men's Knavery, that they are threatned with the Repeal of the Tolleration, blacken'd with Slanders, and Bullied with bloody Flags, Defiances, and *Billingsgate* Language, from the Prefs and from the Pulpit; their Meeting-Houses represented as Houses of Sedition, and the World asks this insolent Question in Print: *Whether is worse, or more pernicious to the Government, a Meeting-House, or a Play-House?* They are daily suffering the Indignities of hair-brain'd Priests, buffooning Poets, and Clubs of insolent Pamphleters; and 'twould be endless to quote the Bear-Garden Language thrown upon them in a rapsody of Prints, which they suffer with Regret, but have always born with patience.

These Things being remov'd, the Dissenters are naturally at ease; the Liberty of their Persons, safety of their Properties and Birth-right, and the Tolleration of their Consciences, are the full of all their demand; and these being secur'd, we may safely defy all the Power of Malice to charge upon them the breach of the
the

the Publick-quiet, or any Encroachment upon the Government, their Neighbours, or the Laws.

The Assaults of their intemperate Adversaries may have fill'd them with just Apprehensions, that the subversion of their Liberty is design'd, and they will perhaps be ready to say they have good Reason for it; but as her Majesty has always comforted them with the full Assurance of her Royal Word in that Case, they have always behav'd with Duty and Defe-
 rence to her Majesty, and every part of her Govern-
 ment; and let those who have so openly attempted to
 prove the Dissenters fatal to the English Constitution,
 and consequently have propos'd to have them depriv'd
 of their Birth-right as Free-holders, let them give an
 Instance of One Act of Disloyalty which they have
 been Guilty of to her Majesty, to merit so much her
 Royal Displeasure.

The Dissenters therefore do not come in as the im-
 mediate Subjects of this Exhortation to Peace, their
 Circumstances, their Interests, their Number, their
 Estates oblige them to Peace, and they cannot be
 Fomenters of our Breaches and Divisions, without
 being Fools and Mad-men, blind to their own happi-
 ness, and *Thieves to their Posterity*.

If this blessed Motion of Peace affects the Dissenters
 at all, it must be as it respects the *Conduct of them-
 selves to themselves*; the infinite Feuds, Divisions and
 Animosities harbour'd among their separate Parties,
 and daily express'd against one another, is too much a
 Scandal upon them as Christians, and too much re-
 proaches their Morals as Men: And here 'tis to be
 acknowledg'd they deserve reproof, and cannot defend
 themselves, wherefore they are most justly call'd upon
 by her Majesty's Speech, and by the whole Nation, to
 hearken to Peace.

Their Character as Christians, their Pretences of
 more than Common Reformation, their Interest as a
 Party, their Profession, their God, and their Queen, all
 call upon them to Peace and Union, Union of Affec-
 tion,

tion, if not Union of Profession; Union of Practice, if not Union of Principle.

Having thus run through the Parties who are concern'd in this matter, it leads me to repeat to my Reader, that were the temper of Peace, were the propensity to a general Union, fix'd in the Breasts of these Parties, there might be some hopes that a farther progress might be made; but there must first be an inclination to Peace, before there can be any real Foundation to hope for it: I know nothing in the World could have been a greater step to form this inclination in the Minds of all Parties, than the vehemence with which her Majesty has been pleas'd to recommend it in her Speech; 'Tis a Call from Heaven by the Mouth of the Queen, and doubtless her Majesty was inspir'd from thence, to move that particular Article of her Speech with so much uncommon earnestness, that those whoever entertain'd any thoughts of her Majesty's being byast by a Party, might see their mistake; that the Party themselves, who began too much to depend upon her Patronage in their ill Designs, might be discourag'd, and that all her People might see her Majesty was entirely engag'd in the general Interest of her People's good, without respect to Parties, to Faction, or the private Projects of designing People about her.

For my part, I confess my self surpris'd with Joy, to find her Majesty's Eyes open to the general Happiness of her People, and should take it for a Judgment upon the Nation, if the Peoples Eyes should remain shut to their own felicity, and that Feuds and Parties should have run us to that extreme, that even a healing Monarch cannot Unite us.

It has not been a common thing for the Nation, to be Summon'd to Unity and Peace from the Throne; evil Princes have been shy and jealous of the Union of their Subjects, and maintaining and keeping up the jealousies and Animosities of Parties, has been thought a needful policy to protect the Crown. But this Practice has been a just Satyr upon those Princes that

that allow'd it, as a certain Demonstration they had something to *impose*, which nothing but the private Feuds of Parties could bring them to consent to.

The Union of Subjects is the Dread of Tyrants; for no People in the World would bear the Insults and Cruelties of Encroaching Arbitrary Princes, were not the People themselves divided in Interests, Parties, Factions and Designs. It is a Token for good to the People of *England*, that the Queen, however by a sort of Men she has been misrepresented and abus'd, has yet this Testimony to give the World of her Justice, and the Integrity of her Designs, that she covets that Peace among all her People, which some of her Arbitrary Ancestors have been afraid to bring upon the Stage.

Instead of being afraid of the Union of her Subjects, she is of nothing more desirous than to bring out that blessed Article, to see all her Subjects practising Charity and Kindness one to another. The Reason is plain, her Majesty having regulated her Conduct by the Laws, and confin'd her Desires to the Happiness of her People, she can give no Testimony of it like this, that she covets to see them United in the Bonds of Love, and walking Hand in Hand in her Service.

None but Tyrants covet to be fear'd, Just Princes value themselves upon the Love of their People.

The Hearts of Subjects are the Strength of Kings.

Now 'tis impracticable to have all the People joyn in Duty and Affection to their Prince, while they are embroyl'd with heat and passions one with another, *universal Love, makes universal Loyalty*: No Subjects are so true to their Prince, nor so hearty to his Cause, as those who are United among themselves, and Unanimous in their way of Living.

While

While therefore her Majesty invites all her Subjects to Union and Peace, 'tis a certain Indication of her resolv'd Design to Govern this Nation by the Laws, and preserve the Rights and Liberties of her Subjects: she would else be very unwilling the People should have any endearing Conversation among themselves, at least one time or other they should open their Eyes to see the way to Liberty, and cast off the Yolk of their pretended Slavery. But if her Majesty calls us to Peace, she calls us to Freedom, and lets us know she is far from encouraging the mischievous Designs of those who strive to bring in Distruction at the door of Contention, and who are willing to keep up the strife of the People, that they might not agree in their own delirance.

I confess my self surpriz'd at this discovery of the Royal Intentions to Peace and Union, and that I expected not her Majesty had yet seen far enough into the malicious Designs of that Party, who design'd to engage her on one part of her People against the other, and have had many a melancholy Prospect of the Consequences of a Nation divided against her self: Nor do I know any way in the World to have given that hot Temper so Universal an overthrow, as her Majesty has now taken, *viz.* To let them know that what ever they may expect from her, how much soever they may fancy they please Her in running down One Party to raise and establish another, *her Majesty is not of their Mind.* The Queen knows a better way to hold the Ballance of Parties, than to erect any One upon the destruction of another; whatever the Opinions in Religion are, they are all her Majesties Subjects, they have all a Title to her Protection, while they behave themselves Dutifully to her Person and Government; reconciling their Principles is none of her Majesty's Province as Queen, and if it were, seems but too impracticable; but to reconcile their Persons, make them useful to her self, conversible to one another, quiet and obedient to the Laws and her Government

vernment, this her Majesty professes to Desire, is Her Resolution, and all her People's advantage.

In Concurrence with this Design, 'tis our Business to strive who is the forwardest for Peace, that her Majesty may be convinc'd who are the Incendiaries of the Nation; *Mark such as sow Divisions*: let us Mark our selves for Visible Healers of Divisions, and the Contrary will mark the Wideners of Our Breaches.

As I have Undertaken to advance in the behalf of the Dissenters, that they are the forwardest to Embrace this Universal Peace, so I hope I shall not be asham'd to affirm, That both their Interest and their Principles Concur to press them to it, and I yet hope their Practice will not let me, nor any One who Undertakes the Vindication of their Cause, be asham'd of being their Advocate.

They cannot be Enemies to this Reconciliation of Parties, unless at the same time they have lost their Senses, and are qualifying themselves for *Bedlam*; and I am of the Opinion, that had a General Assembly of all the Dissenters in this Nation been met together, to Consider what they would Desire her Majesty to do for them, I mean for them particularly as Dissenters, they could have thought of nothing more material to them, and the whole Nation, than a Cessation of this Party-Strife, and a Civil Union with all the rest of her Majesty's Subjects.

What else had they to ask? Their Properties are secur'd by the Law, their Religion by the Tolleration, and both reassur'd by the Queen's repeated Promises to Continue them. They could have nothing more to ask, but that her Majesty would do what in her Wisdom she should find conducing to a general Peace, and Union of Affection, between them and those People, from whom they were oblig'd to Dissent in point of Religion.

This her Majesty has done without their Application, and I think the Dissenters cannot answer it to the Sense of their Own Interest, if they do not make pub-

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publick acknowledgment to God and Her Majesty for so remarkable a Mercy.

Had we beaten the *French* Fleet at Sea, or had any more than Ordinary Advantage over the Nation's Enemies been Obtained; We should, and reason good, have made a Day of publick Rejoycing and Thanksgiving to God for so great a Blessing, and by Addresses of Congratulation Complimented her Majesty upon that head.

This is a Victory over the worst Enemy the Nation has, an Enemy the most Fatal and most Formidable of any in the World; Contention is the Devil's Generalissimo, that has always led on the Infernal Troops to Invade the Peace of this Unhappy Nation; Her Majesty has giving an Overthrow to the Grand Army of Hell, and Dispers'd the Numerous Squadrons that were Embatteling themselves against the general Quiet, and who verily thought they had the Queen on their side.

It remains for all Her Subjects to pursue the flying Troops of this Defeated Army, and to destroy and remove all the little Foundations of Party Feuds, Fears, Jealousies, Reproaches and Raillery, that blow up the Grand Flame of Discord in the Nation.

Would all Parties fall in heartily with Her Majesty's Command, a General Kiss of Friendship and Reconciliation would pass thro' these three Kingdoms, the Wolf and the Lamb would lye down together, Peace would smother all the remains of Enmity, and the Seeds of Dissention would Dye in the Earth, and spring up no more.

And that I may not seem to press my Readers to think of what I cannot direct them how to do. I think it not improper to say, this work is not Difficult, 'tis easier to agree than to fall out, if Men were all inclin'd to Peace,

I shall not pretend in the short Compass of these Sheets, to draw a full Scheme of a Project of Peace among the General Parties, nor unless I were Directed, would

would I engage in any thing so Nice, having no need to fell the farther Resentment of those who may no more be pleas'd with the Project, than they are with the Person. But I will Venture to touch the Preliminaries, and tell the People of *England* how they may begin; I'll put them in the Road, in which, if they please but to go on *straight forward*, as they say, they cannot fail to arrive at the Port of Peace.

Not at all to concern matters of Religion, and Opinions about worshipping God with our Civil Affairs, and common Charity, leaving all People freely, as now the Laws do, to the dictates of the Spirit, and the conduct of their Consciences.

Religion is a matter of Peace, *the ways of God are ways of Pleasantness, and all his Paths are Peace*, which tho' it means speculative Peace, yet I may apply it here; there is nothing in Religion which has a tendency to sowre our Tempers, ruffle our Conversation, or disorder our Lives. As to Converting one another, the Scripture is full of Rules to direct us to act in that by the Power of Perswasion; even Reproof is to be done with the Spirit of Meekness, says the Apostle and Rebuking one another in Love, and provoking one another to Love, and to good Works; and if the Scripture were silent in the case, the Reason and Nature of the thing seemes to imply, that all coercive Methods are vain as well as unlawful, as to Conscience.

Experience might convince those Sons of Violence, who are for Persecution of their Neighbours, that it has been a fruitless War; and if we were to examine how many Converts to the Church have been made by such Measures, I doubt they can give but a slender account of the Fruit of that Method whereof the whole Church is now asham'd. I say asham'd, for that in the Preamble to a late Bill for the preventing Occasional Conformity, 'tis there own'd, *That Persecution for Conscience is Contrary to the Principles of the Christian Religion, and to the Doctrine of the Church of England*.

I avoid all the just Examples I could give, of the Irregularities and Oppressions the Dissenters have suffer'd under on this head; that I may begin with myself, and bury the remembrances of Violences and ill Usage, in this new Resolution of Peace which we are all invited to by her Majesty, and which I hope all the Dissenters in the Nation will be the most forward to accept.

But as to future Conduct let matters of Religion be things of serious Choice, but not of Violence and Debate; we may Differ, but not Quarrel; we may Dissent, without Censure and Uncharitableness; they may Conform, without Envy and Reproach; Honest Men should agree with honest Men, of whatsoever Opinion they may be, and not with Knaves whatsoever Party they take. *A little Charity sown on good Land would produce a hugh Crop of Peace* And even Grace it self, planted in a soil barren of Charity, sours and grows morose.

What has Religion to do with Politicks? Honest Men of all Perswasions are honest Men, and Knaves are the worse, the more pretence they make to Religion; we should not have a tenth part of the Differences in State-Affairs, did not Church-matters and State-matters mingle so much together.

The Law has plac'd the Administration in the hands of the Church, and tho' there has been a thousand reviling Pamphlets that have accus'd the Dissenters of repining at it, yet not one Dissenter can be charg'd with a Design to alter it; let but Peace and moderate Principles possess the Men of Government, the Dissenters were always content, and ever will be pleas'd to have the Power rest in the hands of the Church; and where this Peace and Moderation is not, I believe all men will grant me that the principal Qualifications for Government are wanting.

'Tis nothing but the want of this Peace and Moderation, which has made the matters of Religion and Government Clash, and the whole Nation fall out a-

bout them; and if any Man shall attempt to prove that this contentious Spirit has been on the side of the Dissenters, I think I may not be tax'd with Arrogance, if I say I can easily confute him.

But however it has been, *for Peace never Recriminates*, I shall adventure in the Name of the Dissenters, presuming upon their universal Consent, and with the Consent of some of the most Judicious among them, to make their Adversaries this fair Challenge.

Let the sincerity of the peaceable Spirit be try'd by the Consequence: The Queen has made a general Invitation to Peace and Union, and we accept it; let her Majesty now see who are her most Loyal Subjects, who are greatest Friends to the general Interest, and the truest Lovers of their Country, by distinguishing among them who have most regard to her earnest Recommendation, and who are really and unfeignedly of peaceable Tempers and Principles, and who are not; who are most for Peace and Union, who readiest to obey their Sovereign's Command, who honestest to their own Pretences, the High Church-Men, or the Dissenters.

If this Challenge would be accepted, if Persons deputed by both Parties were to meet, how easie would it be to settle Conditions of mutual Society, agreement of Parties, and general Charity in the whole Nation, which whoever would break, should be hiss'd out of all Conversation, contemn'd by all sides, and no body care to speak to him.

All this might be done, and Religion never be concern'd in the matter, the Concerns of Conscience would be a Class by it self, and never make a rupture in our Civil Society; Men would be Gentlemen as well as Christians, and the Union of Conversation and Interest would make a little Heaven in the Nation.

We should no more be cutting of Throats about Religion, and sending one another to the Devil for not going to Heaven our own way.

This would be the Shortest-Way with the Dissenters, and S—rell's bloody Flag would be a Fool to it. This

This would make us be Dissenters and no Dissenters, and there would be a Conformity in Civil Ceremonies, tho' there was none in Religious.

This would bring the Christian and the *English-Man* to understand one another, who have been a long while at variance.

This would make the Devil out of Love with the Climate, and People would get to Heaven with the less interruption.

In a word, 'twould be a Strength to our Military Power, a Glory to our Civil, and a Lustre to our Religious. 'Twould make the Nation Invincible, the Laws Impregnable, Trade Encrease, Religion Flourish, the Queen Victorious, and the People Happy.

PEACE without UNION.
By way of Reply, to Sir
H-----M-----'s PEACE at
HOME.

The PREFACE.

TIS not little Satisfaction that on a review of these Sheets, and comparing them with what has been since objected; I can see nothing needful to be alter'd, nor much to be added.

What some Gentlemen have thought fit to say on this Head, has amounted to so little, that when the *ill* Language they

they give, the Passion, the Reproach and Scurility is abstracted from the Argument, the naked Skeleton will appear too shapeless a Spectre to fright any Man's Reason from the Truth.

As to ill Language, 'tis none of my Talent, and if it were, the Argument is too good to be Debauch'd with the Practice.

The Gentleman I have to do with in these Sheets Merits to be well Treated, and Understands himself too well to Treat any Man unlike himself. They, who use Raillery in his Defence make a Satyr upon him, and his Argument; as if the latter wanted the Eloquence of Billingsgate, and the former wanted the Assistance of a Second in his Cause.

To say, 'tis Quality places him above the Objector, is to say for him, that he is too much a Schollar, and too much a Gentleman to say for himself: He knows, that in writing he Appeals to general Truth, and no Man is above the Dignity of Reasoning; he is more a Gentleman, than to value an Argument the less for the Author, since strenuous Truth loses nothing of its value, for the quality of whatever mean Instrument she pleases shall usher her into the World.

Truth is the Mistress every wise Man Courts, and who has obtain'd the most of her Favours in this Argument, I freely appeal to Sir H. M. to decide, knowing that the same Candor which oblig'd him to an Alteration in his Dedication, will always oblige him to give a due Deference to unanswerable Truth.

Something has been endeavour'd at, to bring the Dispute of Occasional Conformity, as such, into this Case, I have more than once declar'd my Thoughts on that Head, and I see nothing in this Book that Contradicts it, and their Collecting what I have said on that Point, does no way Mortify me; for in this Cause 'tis plain, that dispute is not concern'd, for it does not follow, that because I have exploded the practice of such, who Conform meerly as a Qualification, therefore I must not Argue against a Bill for excluding such as have Occasionally conform'd, on other Terms, from the Advantage and Birth-right of Englishmen.

Those Gentlemen who affirm for Sir Humphry, that in Holland all the Dissenters are first Tollerated, and then absolutely

solutely excluded from all Civil Employments and Offices of Trusts, forgot themselves too much, and wou'd do well to tell us whether three fifth Parts of the Officers in their Customs and Revenue are not at this time Remonstrants; that is, Dissenters from their National Church, besides all their Military and Naval Employments, Captains of Men of War, Governors of Frontier Garrisons, and the like, equally and promiscuously committed to Papist and Protestant Remonstrant and Contra-remonstrant without Distinction.

If I had no other Instance but this, my Argument was Establish'd too safe to be overthrown, and therefore I make no other Defence for it, it has been Buffeted by the Furies of the Party, has stood a Deluge of ill Language, and a tempest of Words, it appears again in the World back'd with its own Truth and Plainness, and he that can fairly Confute it is welcome.

De F O E.

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I Cannot without some Astonishment observe, that a Gentleman of such Extraordinary Reading, Master of so much more than Ordinary Knowledge, so much an Orator, and so much a Statesman, as this Author, should begin a Discourse of so much Consequence as this, with a positive Assertion, for which there can be no manner of Foundation in History.

At least the general Practice of all Nations, both Antient and Modern, ever since there has been Diversity of Religions in the World, stands directly contrary to what this Gentleman has advanc'd; and I wish he had been pleas'd to quote those few Instances, which he can find in Story, to make out what he lays down.

All wise Nations in the World, says this Gentleman, have been convinc'd by Reason and Experience, and do agree at this Day, and have for many Ages past, that

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there is an absolute Necessity of an Establish'd Religion, and a National Church.

This may have some Truth in it, tho' not without just Exceptions, which I avoid; because, I would not Dispute with him for small Matters; *but then he goes on.*

And that for the Peace and Welfare of every Government, it is also Necessary to preserve the Administration of publick Affairs in the Hands of Persons of one, and the same Perswasion in Matters of Religion, that there may be Unity and Uniformity in the Church and State.

No Wonder, if from Premises so ill Grounded, wrong Conclusions are drawn. If all the Gentlemen in *England* believ'd this to be true, they had the greatest Reason in the World to Vote for a Bill, not only to prevent Occasional Conformity of the Dissenters, but absolutely to fore-close from any share in the publick Administration, any one that had but the least Taint or Infection of Dissenting Principles, that are, or had been Dissenters, or were Favourers of them.

What could the Dissenters pretend to object against such Proceedings, if it were to be proved they were absolutely Necessary for the publick Peace, and for the general good of the Constitution; and that it was the Practice of all Nations in like Cases.

No true *English* Representative could satisfy themselves, or Answer it to their Country, not to secure them in such Cases. It would be unreasonable to expect, that we should be made less safe than other People, but if two Opinions in Matters of Religion be incompatible with the publick Administration; if 'tis necessary that they, who have the same Interest in the State, and the same Zeal for the Service of their Prince, and the same Love to their Country, must have the same Opinion in Points of Religion, or that the least Difference in Religious Matters, tho' in but indifferent Points of Ceremony and Discipline, should so Marr, and Spoil all the other Beauties of their Conduct, that they should not be fit to be Trusted or Employed; if these Things are true, either from the Nature of the thing, or from

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the general Practice of all Ages, then a Bill of Exclusion of Dissenters with all our Hearts.

But if upon Examination, it shall appear, that this Maxim, which stands as the Argument and Frontispiece of the whole Work, be ill Grounded.

If it shall appear that in several Nations, and those some of the wisest in the World, the Administration of their publick Affairs, has been frequently committed to the general Care of all sorts of Subjects, and able Ministers of those Nations, have been employ'd without respect to their Opinions in Religion, and that some Princes have equally Trusted and Employ'd People of differing Opinions in Religion, in the most Secret and Critical Parts of Government.

If these Things appear, the Foundation of this fine Spun Trick of State must fall to the Ground, and an Answer to this one Paragraph may very well pass for a full Reply to the Book, since if the Doctrine be overthrown, the Uses and Application fall of Course; as naturally as a House will follow, when the Foundation is undermin'd.

Let us look a little into History to find out the Truth of Fact, and tho' it would be too Remote to Examine the *Roman* Histories; yet 'tis not amiss to observe, that we find the Christians often times trusted in the Armies, and in the State, especially in the Interval of Persecution, and afterwards in the Western Empire; we find even *Julian*, the Apostate, had several of his chief Captains in the Army that were Christians, and we find several Martyrs who were Officers of the State, and in the Army; we find a whole Legion of Christians trusted with the Arms of the Commonwealth, to whom they not only were faithful and Valiant Soldiers, but to the Glory of the Christian Religion, chose rather to Sacrifice their Lives for their Religion, than to defend themselves against the Government which employed them; And as this Loyalty of Principle has not a little been boasted of by the Advocates of a late abdicat'd Doctrine, call'd, tho' wrongfully, *Passive Obedience*,

it seems strange to me it should so soon be forgotten.

But to go from these Ages of the World, which afford so great a Variety of Example, that 'tis too much to Transcribe, and for which I refer to the Histories of those Days, which are very plain in the case

Let us come to Examine the more Modern Example of the Christian Princes and Nations, and as to their Wisdom, I'll leave that to the Censure of Sir H——M——.

Charles V. Emperor of *Germany*, may be allow'd to be the first great Enemy of the Protestant Religion in *Europe*, he Persecuted the Dissenters in *Bohemia* and *Saxony* with the utmost Severity; and yet both in *Bohemia*, *Hungaria* and *Transilvania*, at all times of Peace, the Protestants were admitted to an equal Share in the Administration of Civil Affairs to the Government of Cities, and Command of Armies.

And as in this short Tract, I cannot pretend to cite Persons and Particulars, I choose to refer my Reader to the several Histories of the Peace, made between the said *Charles V.* and his Subjects of *Bohemia*, and between *Ferdinand K.* of *Hungary*, afterwards Emperor, and his *Hungarian* Subjects, in both which Capitulations he shall find; as I doubt not our learn'd Author well knows, that the Protestant Subjects of both those Kingdoms obtain'd as a reasonable Concession, the Governments of Provinces, their Places in the Councils of State, Assemblies of Burghers, and the like.

To come a little nearer home, the Treaty of *Westphalia* and *Munster*, which are the Settlements on which the whole Liberty of *Germany* depends, the Foundation of the Order and Oeconomy of the *Roman* Empire, and the Confirmation of the *Golden Bull*, by this Treaty, the Protestant Princes and States are not only restored to the Government of themselves, but to their due Interest in the Mutual Government of the general Body, they have their Seats and Suffrages in the Colleges of Princes, and in the College of Electors; neither Peace nor War can be made without them, they make up the Imperial Diet, joyn in Councils, and joyn their
Forces.

Forces. The Grand Councils of the Empire are full of Protestant Statesman, and all the *Imperial* Armies full of Protestant Officers, nay, sometimes wholly Commanded by Protestant Generals. For I think 'tis generally observ'd in those Days, as well as now, that they were always willing we should fight for them, but not willing we should get by them

In several of the petty Governments and Principalities, where their Governours are Elective, the Constitution is so careful to preserve this Union of Parties, that the Government is alternate, one Prince must be a Roman Catholick, and the other a Protestant, as in the Bishopricks of *Hildesheim*, *Osnabruck*, and others; and if the Government it self is so, I believe we need not search the History of those places, to Examine whether their Ministers, Councillors and Statesmen are promiscuous or alternate, as the Government.

The late Duke of *Neubourg*, being a *Roman Catholick*, came by Inheritance to the Government of the *Palatinate*, a Country wholly Protestant; the old Prince being a Man of Temper and Policy, in his Speech to his Council, declar'd himself to this purpose: That he would make no Innovation in the Religion of the Country, nor make any Difference or Distinction of any of his Subjects upon the account of their Religion; whoever were Faithful and Loyal to his Government, should be equally Entitled to his Services and Favour, and this Promise he punctually observ'd to the satisfaction of all his Subjects, and the happiness of his whole Country; and had his Son, the present Elector *Palatine*, thought fit to have maintain'd the same Ballance and Equality among his Subjects, the Protestant Princes had not made such loud Complaints of the Infractions of the Treaty of *Munster* and *Ryswick*, nor have been backward in the present Affairs of the Empire, for want of due satisfaction on those Heads.

In *France* we find *Charles IX.* employing promiscuously the *Hugonot* Princes of the House of *Bourbonne*,
the

the King of *Navarr*, the Prince of *Conde*, *Fasper Coligny* made High Admiral, the Prince of *Conti* Governour of *Campaign*, *Mr. Le Desguires* Governour of *Dauphine*, and abundance of *Hugonots* admitted into Places in the Court, in the Parliament, and in the Finances.

Henry III. committed himself to the Protection of the King of *Navarr*, and the *Hugonots*, from the fatal Conspiracies of the Catholick League join'd the *Roman Catholick* Army to the Protestant, and as he found them both Zealous and Faithful to him, admitted them to all his Councils.

And when afterward that Prince was barbarously Assassinated by a *Jacobine* Fryer, the *Roman Catholick* Princes and Army Joyn'd sincerely with the Protestant, and serv'd the Great *Henry IV.* tho' a Protestant, against the Army of the League, tho' of their own Religion.

Afterwards *Henry IV.* turn'd *Roman Catholick*, when he maintain'd the same Communication of Favours to all Parties, and from the Peace at *Vervins*, which put a final end to that War, and finish'd the *Catholick League* to the Year 1682. When the present *French* King abolish'd the Edict of *Nants*, the Protestants were universally admitted into Governments, Places, Preferments and Employments, even from the Presence and Bed-chambers of the Prince, thro' all the nicest and most dangerous parts of the State, as the Parliament, Finances, Court, Armies and Fleets. Among these Men we find the Marshal *De Biron*, the Duke of *Saxe Weymar*, Monsieur *Di Guebriant*, Le Marechal de *Marrillac*, Monsieur *Fouquet*, the great *Turenne*, Monsieur *du Quesne*, and Count *de Scomberg*, with innumerable others, who were not only Employ'd, but were really the Pillars of the House of *Bourbonne*, and the Raisers of the *French* Power, to a great part of its present Greatness. Nor indeed can I suffer this part of the Matter without a Remark, that this seems to be the only Instance of a Nation that has suppress one Party, for Establishing another, on the bare pretences of Religion.

During

During all the time these Protestant Princes and Gentlemen were in Employment under the Kings of France, the *Romish* Religion was the Establish'd Church, and the Government was all in their Hands; neither were the *Hugonots* under any legal Establishment, other than the Edict of *Nants*, all their Power was broke at the Siege, and taking of *Rochell*, and they were wholly in the Hands of their Enemies, and yet the King of France all along thought fit to employ them both in the Civil and Military Matters, till the present King began to turn them out of all Publick Employments, in order to extirpate them wholly from the Nation, as he has now effectually brought to pass.

If a like Extirpation of the Dissenters in *England* is the real Design, the removing them from all the Privileges and Advantages of their Native Country, is the very best step they can take to it: Nor is this the least Reason to make us believe that is in the design, for to what purpose else should this Gentleman bring so Scandalous an Example on the Stage, I can find but one of these two Reasons possible to be given for it. 1. Either that as the *French* King began the Extirpating of the Protestants by first dismissing them of all publick Employments, so should it be here. Or, 2. That in all his Reading he could not find one Example in History that would suit the present Case, and I think I may fairly challenge him to shew me any Nation in the World, that ever so far suppress'd a part of their own Subjects, as to deprive them of the Favour of their Prince, and the Trust of Government, but with a design either to Persecute, or totally expel them.

If this learned Gentleman can think to convince us, that thus to humble the Dissenters by a Law, and to offer them the Restraint he Proposes, is the way to Peace at Home, he cannot at the same time but suppose that the Dissenters are very blind, ignorant People.

Nor can he suppose that this will tend to the Peace which Her Majesty has propos'd to us, *Peace joint with Union*, the *French* King has brought about the
friction

struction of the Protestants in *France* with a full Peace, but not with Union. 'Tis *Union* is the matter, which, as it is the Essence of Peace, so 'tis the only thing can make this Nation happy, and I would be glad to see how the least Prospect of an Union of Parties can be seen in the Scheme he has drawn.

Let us next examine the Government of our Neighbours the *Dutch*, where, if I mistake not, the *Calvinists* are the Establish'd Church, yet have they no Test or Disabling Laws; but as the Government is Protestant, the Roman Catholicks have their Freedom; not by a limited, restrain'd, precarious Tolleration, but by Native Light, and a Claim of Title, the States approve, and Confirm the Provincial, and the Missions of the Pope, and the Roman Catholicks enjoy the Liberties and Privileges of other Subjects, and serve in their Armies and Fleets with promiscuous and unexceptioned Liberty.

I know no other Nation where the Roman Catholicks are Masters, and that ever had any other Religion among them, but what still accepts the Services of their Subjects of whatsoever Religions. In *Spain*, *Italy* and *Portugal*, the Inquisition has effectually Damn'd all Religions but their Own, and in this Case they are still but Examples of what some People are willing should come to pass here. But if we go back, even among the *Spaniards* themselves, in the Days of *Phillip* the Second of *Spain*, the Nobility and Gentry of the 17 Provinces, had many of them Embrac'd the Protestant Religion, and yet were continued in great Employments in the State, as the Prince of *Orange*, Count *Horn*, Count *Egmont*, and multitudes of others: And 'tis observable, that the Breach afterwards did not begin upon Account of dismissing them their Employments, but upon a Design of rooting out the very Name of Protestant from the Country, by bringing in the Inquisition upon those Provinces, which, together with the Tyranny of the Duke of *Alva*, was the Occasion of the final Defection of the Provinces, and the Erecting

the present powerful State of the United Provinces.

These are the blessed Examples of latter Ages, when People have been Depriv'd of the Birth-right and Privileges of Subjects on meer Account of Opinions in Religion. One was a step to the utter Extirpation of the Party so depriv'd, and the other drove them to all Extremities, and being joyn'd to other intolerable Oppressions, caus'd a General Disorder, made a vast Chasim in the Government, and made a Civil War of 42 Years, which ended in the Universal Revolt and Alienation of the Seven Provinces.

Let us now look back a little to our own Country, and desire our Brethren of the Church of *England* to remember the Time when they where Dissenters themselves, when they were obnoxious to, and separated from the Establish'd Church, they were not treated in this manner, no, not by the *Papists* themselves; in the Days of King *Henry* the VIIIth. the Lord *Cromwel*, Queen *Anne*, and abundance of the Nobility and Gentry were Protestants and *Lollards*, and yet continued in publick Trust, and in the Services of their King and Country.

And had not in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, the many restless Designs of *Spain* appear'd so busy, and the *English* Catholicks been so weak to Embroil themselves with the State, and against her Person, they had continued in Employments and Places to the last; 'twas reason of State, and not of Religion, which oblig'd her to treat them so roughly.

Thus I think I have taken a short View of History, with Relation to this Gentleman's advanc'd Maxim, That all wise Nations have thought it necessary, to preserve the Administration of Publick Affairs, in the hands of Persons of one, and the same Perswasions in Matters of Religion: Which I think is fairly Confuted; if he thinks not, on a more narrow Search, I shall be content to give him many more Particulars of these Things, the Places where, Time when done, and the Authors where the Accounts are to be found.

Strada.

Strada, complaining of the Unreasonableness of the Discontents of the *Netherlanders*, tells us, they had nothing to complain of, for that tho' they were Hereticks, they were admitted to the Favour of their Sovereign, equally with the Catholics, and were Employ'd by him in the greatest Posts of Trust and Honour.

From what part of the World now will this Learned Author pick out his Wise Nations, who *thought it necessary to preserve the Administration of Publick Affairs, in the Hands of Persons of One and the same Perswasion in Matters of Religion?* I should think the World had been much more oblig'd to him, if in this Case he had been pleas'd to tell us who these wise Nations are, and I am perswaded 'twill appear when they are found they were not the wiser for doing so, and that it never appear'd to be their Interest to attempt it.

I am led now to his Second Assertion, viz. *Where-ever a National Church hath been Established by Acts of Uniformity, as in this Kingdom, the wise Legislators have generally Establish'd some Test, &c.*

It is very hard a Gentleman of this Author's Quality and Learning, should have the Misfortune to lay down but two Fundamentals as the Plat-form of his whole Discourse, and at the same time Dedicate them to his Sovereign, and be mistaken in both.

Sure this Gentleman could not Imagine that things so remote from the Knowledge of any Historian, could do any thing else than cause them that had read Books to look back into History, to find the time when these Tests and other Securities were Establish'd.

If 'twas Expected that these things should be taken upon Trust, *as Merchants pay Bills for the Honour of the Drawer*, I am sorry that Gentleman could forget that these Ages of Faith are at an End, and People are not so willing to believe one another as they used to be; and since there are so many among us, who are willing to Impose upon the Credulity of others, People are grown more Incredulous, and no Man of

Honesty

Honesty now thinks it below him to lay down Proofs of what he says, nor takes it Unkindly that he is not believ'd upon his *Parole*, since where Demonstrations are to be had, 'tis as easy to give them, as to let them alone; and where they are not, no Wise Man will be positive.

Indeed there is one way for this Gentleman to bring himself off in this Case, and that is finely couch'd in the manner of his wording the 2d general Head of this Argument; whether 'tis Contriv'd on purpose or no, I will not pretend to Determine: *Where-ever a National Church*, says he, *hath been Establish'd by Acts of Uniformity, as in this Kingdom, the wise Legislators have generally Establish'd some Test, &c.* This may be true, and yet no Test but ours be Establish'd in the World, because no National Church in the World hath been Establish'd by Acts of Uniformity, as in this Kingdom. If this be the meaning of our Author, he has room to come off indeed, and I am very willing he should come off thus, for I am fully perswaded he can shew us no National Church in the World Establish'd by Acts of Uniformity, as in *England*, nor no Test, or exclusive Conditions, where a Religion is tollerated in a Nation, but the Professors of it excluded from all Trust or Employment in the Country.

In *Spain* and *Italy*, there is an Establish'd Uniform Church, but there is no Tolleration at all; a Man not only must be a *Papist*, but exactly, nicely, and constantly adhere to every Tittle, as the Priests direct; the whole Religion of the Country is the Test, and then 'tis not a Test of Qualification, but of Life, Estate, and abiding in the Place: Witness the carrying the Count d' *Contarini*, and his Lady, and several of his Domesticks, lately to the Prison of the Inquisition in *Rome*, for only favouring some Opinions which the Priests did not think Catholic. There is no Tolleration in the Case.

In *France*, total Conformity to the National Establish'd Church is absolutely requir'd, on pain of Banishment,

nishment, Confiscation, and Death. If this be vouch'd as a proper Test, I Commend the Practice to our Author from the Goodness of the Example; and 'tis my Opinion he may, with as much ease defend the sending all the Dissenters out of the Nation, and Condemn their Ministers to the Gallows and Gallies, that is, *to go to work with them the shortest way*, as he may Defend the Case he has undertaken, at least I am satisfied he may find more Precedents in History among the Wise Nations he speaks of.

After this unhappy Ground Plot laid, what wretched Fabrick are we to Expect! Consequences are always just to their Causes, wrong Conclusions must follow where wrong Premises are laid down.

From having first Deriv'd the Cause of this Bill, from the Practice of some wise Nations in Nubibus, not pleasing to tell us who they are, this Gentleman descends to Defend the Letter of the late Law, and advances to the World that it is no Breach of the Toleration Act.

Instead of a Reply, I shall here take the Freedom to tell him a short Story. Two Gentlemen of Quality in the French Court, falling out, prepar'd to Decide their Controversy by the Sword. But Notice having been given of their Intentions, the King of France, who has been particularly severe upon his Subjects upon the Point of Duelling, sends to one of these Gentleman his repeated Prohibition to fight, assuring him, that if he Dar'd to Transgress his Command, he would shew him no Mercy; but being again Inform'd, that on some fresh Insults from his Adversary, he had resolv'd to meet him; the King ordered this Gentleman to be taken up, and to give Security that he would not Engage.

The other Gentleman had so little Government of himself, as still to Insult him, upon which he gave him this Answer, Sir, If you please to obtain a License for me to dispose of my Estate to my Family, I'll fight you, tho' I am sure to be hang'd.

The Application of the Story in short, is thus, 'tis Easy to advance an Argument under the Favour of Power, which he that answers must do it at the hazard

hazard of the too Mighty Displeasure of the State ; but I'll make my Author this fair Offer.

As to what is doing in the House, I neither know, nor meddle ; but if he will please to obtain for me by Authority the Liberty of Speech, in this Particular, I am content to accept it, upon this Condition, That if I do not prove the late Bill to be directly contrary both to the Act of Toleration, and of it self Destructive of Liberty of Conscience, and opposite to the Express Words of the Preamble, which says, that Persecution for Conscience is contrary to the Profession of the Christian Religion, and the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, That then I may be stigmatiz'd for a Coxcomb, and banish'd the World as an Incendiary and Common Disturber.

Can any Man pretend to say, that the Dissenters may enjoy their Liberty of Conscience, if they will be contented with it? I humbly presume to affirm, there is not one Dissenter who is not contented with Liberty of Conscience, if there be, the whole Body of the Dissenters will readily Disown him. And if the Government would put the Dissenters to the Tryal any way, but what may infringe their Liberties as *English-men*, and their Consciences as Christians, I doubt not but they would presently Determine it to the Satisfaction of the World, and their own just Vindication.

I am sorry to be restrain'd here from the just Recriminations which this Usage of the Dissenters puts into my Mouth, by which I believe I could easily lay open the Secret Drift and Design of some Gentlemen in pleading for such a Bill——But I cannot refrain making some Observations of the Manner of their Management.

And to begin with the Gentleman before me, who has put forth all his Power of Eloquence, in which he is known to abound, to guild over the Poyson of his Principle with the shining Article of Peace.

So, Sir, the *French* King enjoys Peace, all his *Hugonot* Subjects being banish'd or oppress'd, their Ministers working at the Oar, under the Roman Guardians, spurr'd on by the Zealots of the Church.

Is it Peace that you seek, Sir, by Depriving your Brethren of their Birth-right? And that not because they cannot Conform to you, but because they can. It may be Peace, Sir, *French* Peace, but *where's the Union?* Where's the Conjunction of Hearts and Hands that are so requisite, and which Her Majesty presses so Earnestly in a time of the Nation's Difficulty; and the terrible Successes of a growing Enemy? Can you suppose the Dissenters to be Men of so much self-Denial, that they can first be thus us'd, and then Unite with you Heart and Hand in the Great Work of the publick Defence? If you can, you must allow them to be better Christians, than you seem to believe of them, and will find it very difficult to make out another Position of yours, *that the Government cannot be safe while they are concern'd in it.*

And why not safe? Dare you bring your Loyalty to the Test with Theirs? Have they rebell'd against Governments, or ruin'd their Governours, any ofner than the Men of the Church? You have been fairly Challeng'd to the Enquiry, and to come to a Ballance about Loyalty, and your own Knowledge tells you, that the Loyalty of both Church men and Dissenters stands upon an Equal Foot.

You have as often been told, that the Mismanagements of the Late Reign, of which such loud Complaints are made, and about which such Pains have been taken, let it lye where it will, cannot lye at the Door of the Dissenters; you can name but two known Dissenters that were in any considerable Post of Trust in all that Government, and after all the retrospect of Mismanagement, and all the Care which has been taken to Cast the Reproaches of ill Conduct and Unfaithfulness upon them, they both dyed in the Service of their Country, and left behind them a spotless

Character,

Character, an unblemish'd Honesty, and even their Enemies will allow that two better Officers in their Stations the Government never had, and I am far from being asham'd of their Names, match them if you can, They were *Thomas Papillon*, and *Mordecai Abbot*, one in the Victualling Office, the other in the Exchequer.

I do not find among all the black Roll of the Nation's Thieves, One Dissenting Thief, I make no question but if they were to be found out we should long since ha' heard of them.

We have lent Our Money to the Government, lost Our Money by the Government, but we have got nothing from the Government, but in Common with the rest.

Not, Gentlemen, but that we may have Knaves among us as well as you; but I believe we may make the Church of *England* this fair Offer, that if they please to make good Our Losses by their Church Knaves, we are very free to come to an Account, and refund all that can be Charg'd upon Our Dissenting Knaves. But till they accept this, let me say the Frauds and Mismanagement of Affairs lyes among ye, Gentlemen, we have had but a very small share in them.

In short, no Betrayers of the Nation's Secrets, no Corresponders with the Nation's Enemies, no False Endorsers of Exchequer Bills, no Counterfeiters of the Royal—No Commissioners without Accounts, No Pay-Masters without Vouchers, or Treasurers without Cash, are to be found among us: What then have we done, that you, Sir, should misrepresent us to the Nation as Enemies to the publick Safety, and urge the necessity of this Bill for the publick preservation?

If this is to be brought upon us as a Punishment, where is our Crime? If our Crime is as you alledge, we Claim to be heard.

What the House of Commons please to do I have nothing to say to, and am not now Treating with you as a Member of that House. But since you have rank'd your self with the Authors, and come among

those who appeal to the People, it is, Sir, *in your Scrib-
ling Capacity that I am Concern'd with you*, and no other.

I wonder that a Man of your Judgment should put a Title of *Peace at Home*, upon a Book so contrary to the Title it bears.

You tell us the Dissenters, are struggling for Domini-
on and Power. I tell you, no, Sir, They are struggling
against Dominion and Power. As to their Desiring
a Power to destroy the Establish'd Church, I think 'tis
ungratefully offer'd, since they so lately gave a demon-
stration to all the World, that they chose the hazard of
being Destroy'd with the Establish'd Church, rather than
to let the Establish'd Church be Destroy'd, tho' it might
have been done without their having any hand in it.

And if you are Ignorant of the Time, I may put
you in mind that in K. *James's* Reign, when Our Li-
berty was given us *Gratis*, and offer'd to be Continued
upon Extraordinary Terms too, nay, and 'tis Easy to
prove it, was the Interest of the Court at that time
to continue it. These scandalous Fellows, Sir, that
are not now fit to be trusted with setting a Drunkard in
the Stocks, were solicited on all hands to Join with you
in bringing to pass the Revolution; what fine things,
what Union, what Temper was then promis'd us?
And what more might we have obtain'd, if we had
Capitulated for it? But we took you at your words,
condition'd for nothing but a Toleration, chose to
live and dye with you, joyn'd heart and hand to re-
establish this Church of yours, which was then at the
brink of Destruction—— and yet we are the Men
who wou'd Destroy this Establish'd Church.

What innumerable Reproaches have we daily from a
Party of Men, who if we had said the word, had been
no Party. But from a Man of your Judgment, Sir,
of your Learning, and your wonderful Piety, this is
a most strange thing, and I exceedingly admire how
you came to forget your self.

But, Sir, since you are pleas'd to Embark your Pen
in this Cause, and Undertake to prove the Dissenters a
People

people who ought to be restrained, of whom it would be absolutely necessary to make Laws to keep them out of the Government, and all Branches of the Administration. I think you so far Oblig'd in Honour to accept a fair Invitation, *in which you shall not want some more able Head than mine, either by Pen and Ink, or by Conference, to make out these few Heads.*

1. That a Bill against Occasional Conformity is not a Repeal in Part of the Act of Toleration.
2. That there is a Necessity of such a Bill for the safety and preservation of the Church.
3. That the Church is in any danger of being destroy'd by the Dissenters.
4. That any thing like this has been the practice of Nations abroad, Except where the Design has been the extirpation of the Party
5. How this can be a Means to that Union which her Majesty invites the Nation to.
6. Who are the Queen's best Subjects, and who most pursue her real Interest, they who push these Extremities at so unreasonable a time as this; Or, they who labour for Peace and Union, in Obedience to the Command of their Sovereign.

I come now to the Question he asks upon the whole Matter, after having been pleas'd to Satyrize upon the Mistakes, as he pleases to call them, which those Persons fell into, who Argued against the Bill, which I suppose, I may say without Injury to him, is to be understood of the Lords appointed to manage the Conference on this head, where 'twas alledg'd, that *the Dissenters were not Schismatics; That Occasional Conformity was not a New, but an Old Invention; That a Difference ought to be put between Going to a Popish and a Protestant Meeting, and the Greatness of the Penalty exceeding the Price of going to Mass, and the like.* These are not the Questions, says this Gentlemen, but this is the proper Question before us, in short, *Whether it be Consistent with the Safety of the Establish'd Government, either in Church or State, with the Wisdom of the English Nati-*

on, with the Practice of any wise Government in the World, or with the sure Intent and Meaning of the Test Act, to admit into publick Offices and Employments any Persons who are not sincere Members of the National Church.

These Questions are as fit as they are easy to Answer, and therefore I shall Contract my Reply, always promising this Gentleman a fuller Explicatory, if not Satisfactory Solution of these Difficulties on Demand.

I must give a General Answer to the first Head of Questions in the Affirmative: I do think it Consistent with all these Points, that the Employments and Publick Offices of the Government may be Committed to Men of Honesty, Integrity and Capacity, whatsoever their Opinions concerning matters of Religion may be.

Truly, Gentlemen if these Publick Employments were to be in the Hands of none but Men of Principles, Men of Conscience and Religion, I should be in great Pain for some *Gentlemen in Office*, who are meer Occasional Conformists: Indeed, who never took a Sacrament any where till it became Necessary as a Qualification, and who have so much Honesty as to own they know little of the Matter, and don't trouble their Heads about it, who are of any Church; and, as for Religion in general, have no manner of occasion for it.

These Gentlemen are safe, and no Clause in the Bill can touch them; Atheism was never charg'd as an Enemy to the Church and State, 'tis not the Men of no Religion, but the Men of too much Religion we are afraid of.

But to the Question, It may be safe to commit the Trust of Publick Employments to Men of different Opinions in Religion.

I. Because Men of different Opinions may be Honest, and it cannot be unsafe to Trust an Honest Man, whatever his Opinion be in Matters of Religion; now if this Gentleman will tell us, that a Dissenter cannot be an Honest Man, then let us tell Noses, and
see

see who have the most Knaves, the Church or the Dissenters.

2. Because it has been done without Danger, both here and abroad ; and is done to this day among all the wise Nations he speaks of. Except as before excepted.

But I own here does lye one Negative against me, and that is about its being Inconsistent with the Design of the Test and Corporation Acts ; and there I acknowledge him to be in the right ; but then I must add, that those Acts themselves lye Crowded with such just Objections of Parties, private Interests, and Principles destructive to the true Interest of the Protestant Religion, and the Nation in General, as I am perswaded this Gentleman, with all his skill, is not able to defend.

If this Bill does more fully Answer the end of the Test, and Corporation Bill, if any thing in those Acts are to be prov'd Unchristian and Unreasonable, 'tis but little for the Reputation of this Cause, that it tends to fulfil those Designs for which they were Design'd, but fell short.

To justify the Reasonableness of this Bill, 'tis alledg'd, that the Church cannot be safe without it.

I would be glad to join issue with this Gentleman upon that Head. As to his canvassing the Reasons given by the Lords last Session, I do not meddle with it, as a thing too long for this Tract ; at the same time assuring him, it is not but that those Reasons are easily to be Defended.

But the proper Work before me, is to bring it to this short Head, the Pains are Extraordinary which are taken to possess Peoples Minds, that the Church is in danger from the Dissenters, and cannot be secur'd but by this Bill. And why in such danger from the Dissenters ? Our Author owns they are surrounded with Deists, Papists, Socinians, and Occasional Conformists ; and I could add with Atheists too, and yet all these, the Papist excepted, are Occasional Conformists also, but no Law is requir'd against them. By his Rule

Men of no Religion may be admitted to Conform for a Place, and then Relapse to *Atheists, Socinians, Arians, Deists* and *Hereticks*, with which the Church of *England* now abounds; all these, tho' Enemies to the very Being of Religion, may come to the Communion for a Place, Occasionally Conform, and return to their ridiculing all Religion, bantering the Trinity, and blaspheming our Saviour's Divinity, and still by his Rule the Church is no danger, but these may be trusted in highest Places of the Government with safety. But a Man that in his Opinion dissents in some Points of Religion, but can conform in part, tho' he be Conscientious, tho' he be never so Religious, this is a Dangerous Man, and it cannot be safe for the Church to have such a Man employ'd.

To what a strange pass will this Gentleman bring the Church of *England*, and what a Scandal will he bring upon the Foundation she stands upon, that she may be serv'd by *Knaves*, but dare not trust *Honest Men*; that Men of no Religion are fit enough for her Employments, but Men of Charity and Conscience are not.

If any Man ask me now, whether I am pleading for Occasional Conformity, I freely Answer no, nor do I approve of it in it self, but when made use of for a mere Qualification. I abhor both the Practice and the Persons.

But this Law is not at all the more to be justified from the Unjustifiableness of that practice, because this deprives those Men of a just Liberty, whose Consciences, by the Toleration Act, have that very thing allow'd them, which now will be restrain'd, and in that Matter, if in no other, is an Infraction of that Act.

The Toleration Bill says, that the Penalties of certain Laws are taken off from the Dissenters, on Accounts of their not Conforming; here are new Penalties putting on, upon some that can Conform in part, because they cannot conform wholly.

But says this Gentleman, they may quit the Offices, and then there is no Persecution. To which I Answer, to be forc'd to do it, is Punishment, and Punishment is Persecution.

'Tis

'Tis not the Question, whether a Dissenter can justify his Occasional Conformity to his own Conscience, but whether he can justify it to the Law; if he can do the last, then is the case no Crime, and to have a Law made against that which is no Crime, is what this Gentleman has not yet undertaken to meddle with.

The whole strain of this Argument, and which this Gentleman lays a very great stress on, is, That the Dissenters are Enemies to the Establish'd Church, and therefore *'tis not safe* any part of the Administration of Publick Affairs should be in their Hands.

That this is the specious Pretence, is very plain; but as I have already noted, this is a Foundation wrong laid, and can never be prov'd, nor made out; and if these Gentlemen would come to a fair Examination of Circumstances, they could not prove they have any just Grounds for it.

As to Principles of Rebellion, and Enmity to Monarchies, and to the *Jus Divinum* of the Crown, how often have the Church been challeng'd to come a Ballance of Loyalty with the Dissenters, nay, tho' we were to thro' in all they can say of the Days of 41 into the Scale.

Even this Gentleman owns, Fol. 9. what I affirm, they are his own Words, and deserve remark. *The Best of the Dissenters desire not Power and Dominion, but Liberty of Conscience, and Exemption from Penal Laws.* Say you so, Sir, then what Occasion of the Law, if your next Words which are these are true? *The True Members of the Church, Desire no more than to see the Administration of publick Affairs in the hands of such, as are well affected to the Established Government.*

Now to bring these two together, those Dissenters who desire not Power and Dominion, cannot be Unsafe in the Establish'd Government; why then shou'd the Church be so eager to shut them out of the Administration? This Argument lyes directly against him.

As to the Test Act, I wish this Gentleman, who so often brings it in as a thing so Sacred, so Essential to the Churches safety, and so needful to be enforc'd, would

wou'd have been pleas'd to have Undertaken the Defence of the Morality of that Act in its own Nature, and a little examin'd the Method of procuring it, and the Design of the Reigning Parties of those Days; let him tell us whether that Act was made meerly to secure the Church, or whether those People, who honestly meant the security of the Church, were not acted by another secret Party, who only design'd to uphold the Division between the Church and the Dissenters, in order, at last, to destroy both. Let him tell us, if he can, *from what Principle*, or in what Nation but ours, Divine and sacred Ordinances are expos'd as the Test or Qualification for Secular Interest, and be made the Hand-maid of Parties, the Badge of a States Man, and a Mark of Distinction.

Let him tell us what Unaccountable Prophanation of those sacred Institutions of *Christ Jesus*, have been Occasion'd by Compelling and Obliging such to receive the Sacrament, who had no more Religion than a Horse, and who made a Jest of the Matter, whose practice amounts only to that of *Ratcliff's Souldier*.

To be Godly a while, and then as ye were.

Let him defend the Policy of that Act too if he can. Let him tell me, if Men's honesty rather than Opinions of Indifferent things in Religion, is not the more needful point to be examin'd as to Employments in the State; for here a Knave shall be employ'd if he will take the Test, and the more Knave he is, the less he will scruple it. But the honest Man shall he shut out, because his Conscience permits him not to comply.

If the Nature, the Morality, or the Policy of that Act cannot be defended, then all the Arguments drawn from that Act fall to the Ground, and then I think his three great Foundations answer'd and overthrown.

1. I believe to have prov'd, That wise Nations in all Ages have thought fit to entrust the Administration of publick Affairs in the hands of Persons of different Perswasions in matters of Religion.

2. That useful and honest Men may safely be employ'd,

of whatsoever Perswasion or Opinion, as to Religion, and Knaves are unsafe of any Opinion.

3. That no National Church in the World excludes out of the Administration of publick Affairs any Persons of such Opinions, as by Law at the same time are Tolrated in the Nation.

To Tolerate a Religion or Opinion, and yet count the Professors of it Intolerable in the State, seems to have such Incongruity of Circumstances, as no Nation in the World can Parallel. In *Holland* the National Church are *Calvinists*, yet the *Remonstrants*, and the *Roman* Catholicks, are Tollerated. But let this Gentleman tell us, how many more *Calvinists* than *Remonstrants* are among the Burghers of *Amsterdam*? If I am rightly inform'd, the Council of the Town are above two thirds of the Dissenting Remonstrants, and in their Armies and Fleets, the *Roman* Catholicks are equally Advanc'd, are equally capable of Serving, and have Commissions granted them without any Test, Qualification, or other Obligation, than an Oath of Fidelity to the State, which, in all Countries, is esteem'd a sufficient Tye to an honest Man.

In *Scotland*, where so much outcry of Persecution is made, tho' with so little reason, the National Church is *Presbyterian*, yet almost all the Offices and Administration is in the Hands of the *Episcopal* Dissenters, without any Test, or other Qualification, than their Oaths of Allegiance to the Queen, and Recognition to the Government.

Upon the whole, 'tis plain the Design at least of this Author seems to be not to keep Men out of the Government for being Knaves, but for being Dissenters; for by this Law he that will take the Sacrament, and go to a Meeting, shall not be fit for a Place of Trust; but he that will go from the Sacrament to a Bawdy-House, remains as well qualified as before.

A Dissenter, tho' of never so much Honesty and Principles, shall be made incapable of the Service of his Country, and rendred suspected to the Government, while

while a Man of no Principles at all, that will take a Sacrament in the Morning, be Drunk, and Swear at the Priest that gave it him in the Afternoon, that will Blaspheme God, Banter Religion, Buffoon the Face of the Government, be as Leud and Irreligious as the Father of Mischief can make him, is suffered to enjoy all the Advantages of Office, Government and Administration, and with held from nothing that's Wicked, the Scandalous Crime of a Meeting-House only excepted.

There is really something Mysterious in this, something odd and unaccountable, and unless the Gentlemen, who are for this Bill, can give some better Reasons for it than Sir *Humphrey* has thought fit to make Publick, I see nothing yet advanc'd but what is so easy to be Answer'd, that I wonder to see him offer things so Absurd.

His being sensible of this I am perswaded was the Birth of his Postscript, in which he tells us, *That he does not from thence conclude, that so wise and so Great an Assembly are not able to Amend their own Bill, and to order it so, as the passing such a Bill may neither be a Snare to the Church-man, nor a Prejudice to Dissenter; such a Bill as will not Destroy, but Preserve our Religion, Laws and Liberties, and evermore Establish Peace and Unity amongst us, and settle our Constitution upon a sure and lasting Foundation.*

This is fine Language, and like Sir *Humphry*, who all Men know is Master of good Words, and it sounds well in the Mouth. But let us examine a little the Signification of this, and certainly never were so many Words put together to less purpose as to the Argument in Hand; Nay, so unhappily is this Postscript brought in at the Close, that 'tis as it were a saying the whole Book backward like a Witches Prayers, 'tis unravelling all the Thread of the former Discourse.

If the Parliament can make such Amendments to their Bill, as shall make it *no Snare to the Church-man, nor Prejudice to the Dissenter*, why, then it seems plain,

plain, that till 'tis amended, it is even in this Gentleman's Opinion, both a *Snare to one*, and a *Prejudice to the other*. If they can make it such a Bill as will *not Destroy, but Preserve our Religion, Laws and Liberties*, it should seem by Sir *Humphry's* own Words, that as yet 'tis a thing that *will destroy them all*. If the Commons, by amending this Bill, may bring it to be a *means of Establishing Peace and Unity among us*.

I will not pretend to dispute the Power of the House of Commons, to alter or amend any of their own Bills, 'tis without Question their Native Right; but whether they can so amend their Bill, as to bring it to be no Snare to Church, no Prejudice to the Dissenters, a Preservation to our Religion, Laws and Liberties, and an Establishment of Peace and Unity among us, I will not determine; but I am perswaded whenever 'tis so amended, as to be capable of all those good Ends, no Dissenter in the Nation will be unwilling it should pass; and till it is, no honest Man can wish it should.

The CONCLUSION.

I Cannot dismiss this Discourse without putting my Author in Mind of the Infant State of the *English* Church, in the Days of *Henry* the Eighth, these were the Churches Days of suffering, which most People are willing to forget, *These Parsons forget that ever they were Clerks*. The History of the Reformation of *England* would put them in Mind, what Opposition they made to the six Articles, how they complain'd of the ill Usage of the Government, and how they themselves were then treated.

First, they tell us the King was imposed upon, and abused by the Bishops, and other wicked Counsellors, to form the six Articles to destroy the growth of the Reformation, and it may be worth while to observe in what Terms they were represented to the King.

The Bishop of *Winchester* in particular, first took care to fill the King's Head with Fears of Civil Tumults

mults and Commotions, a thing it seems the King was naturally very uneasy about, having, as he thought, made the People very much out of Temper, by his dissolving the Religious Houses.

Popery was now the Establish'd National Church, but the Nation was full of Dissenters, *that is Protestants*; such as now are called *of the Church of England*, the Members of the Establish'd Church believing, or at least pretending that they were not safe, nor could not be secured, till more Laws were made for the Security of the Church, put the King upon these six Bloody Articles. The very Words which are Recorded of the Bishop of *Winchester* in this Case, are the very same made Use of by the Present Gentleman against the Dissenters, *viz. He besought the King for his own Safe-guard, and the Safety, Quiet and Tranquility of the Kingdom, to be Careful, Sharp and Severe against the Sectaries and Sacramentaries, Acts & Mon. Vol. 2. Fol 441.* I would only desire this Gentleman to reflect a little, who these *Sectaries and Sacramentaries* were? Truly no body but our own dear *Loyal Church*, who are just Treating some People with the very same Terms and Names of Distinction, which they in Contempt were treated with by their Enemies the Papists. All the use I shall make of it is, to tell them it is a little Unkind; 'tis not according to the Golden Rule of *doing as they would be done by!* 'Tis not a very honourable way of Proceeding, to cry out of the hardship of that Usage when imposed upon them, and make Apologies for the Moderation of it, when you want to impose it upon others.

When these six Articles were in Agitation in the House of Lords, Archbishop *Cranmer* was the only Man, who had the Courage to withstand the Current of the Times, which he did with so much earnest Zeal, that the King commanded him to go out of the House, which yet he Modestly refus'd to do, pleading tho' in a very humble manner his Privilege, and continu'd, tho' in a vain, to oppose it; and had certainly

tainly overthrown the Articles, says the Author afore-
said, *Nisi Pars Major Vicisset ut sepe solet Meliorem*, Fox.
Act. Mon, Vol. 2. Fol. 443.

This was the proceeding against Sectarian Schis-
matical Church of *England* Dissenters of those
Days, I leave the Gentlemen of the Church to
reflect a little, whether now they come to be the
Establish'd National Church, they Treat the Dissenters
under them, as they would be Treated; whether we
have not the same Cause to think our selves ill Treated,
as they had in those Times; and whether indeed the
Case is not harder with us, than it was with them,
for that our Difference is about indifferent Things,
theirs about Essential Catholick Points.

This Story serves not to reflect upon the Church,
but to desire some Gentlemen of the Church to re-
flect a little upon themselves; how they were used,
when they were counted the Schismatics and Secta-
ries; and how hard they thought themselves used,
when Laws were made against them, on pretence
of the Safety and Security of the National Church.

M O R E

M O R E

Short-WAYS

With the DISSENTERS.

IT is not without just Ground, a Challenge of Peace was made to the Nation in the Name of the Dissenters, that the World might know who were the Men, in spite of her Majesty's frequent Invitation to *Union*, and the pressing Exhortations she had made from the Throne for *Peace*, are constantly the Aggressors, on every occasion Insult their Brethren, and prompt the Nation to Unite in their Destruction.

Has the Government shown their Resentment at the Author of *the Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, either it was for Injuring the Church of *England*, in suggesting that her Members intended such a thing as the Destruction of the Dissenters; or else that noble Lord, who told the Author of his Extraordinary Guilt, wou'd be puzzl'd to find a Crime in it, and if it was for

for such a suggestion, 'tis as hard, since 'tis too plain the Fact is true, and the Charge is just, if any regard is to be given to the Preaching, the Printing, or the Discourse of the principal Clergy, and most noted Members of the Church.

From whence then I infer, that the Author has nothing to ask pardon of the Church of *England* for, but that he, like a too credulous Fool, gave any heed to such slight and cursory things as *Preaching*, and *Printing* of Books.

What tho' a Reverend B—op had frequently said we shou'd never be well in *England*, till all the Dissenters were serv'd as the *Hugonots* in *France*? What tho' Esquire M—— has given it under his Hand, that he heartily prays God wou'd give her Majesty the Grace to put all that was wrote there in the Book call'd, *the Shortest Way* in Execution? What tho' Dr. H— frequently has Preach'd and Printed too, that the Dissenters were a Brood of Traytors, and the Spawn of Rebels not fit to live? What tho' the Author of whom we are now treating, has declar'd from the Pulpit, that a Man can't be a true Son of the Church of *England*, but he must lift up the bloody Flag against the Dissenters; yet since Printing Books is but a Modern Contrivance to get a Penny, and ought to be prepar'd so as may best suit the Market, and Sermons are only long Speeches directed to, and made to please the Auditory, and consequently suited to their Circumstances and Humour, it does not therefore follow, that because they have Preach'd and Printed these things, they really Intended and Design'd the thing, no, *Good Men*, it was far from their Thoughts. The Author therefore was most justly punish'd for his Folly, in believing any thing they said, and pretending to Alarm the Dissenters for the little insignificant Performances of the *Pulpit*, or the *Prefs*.

Nor are their cursory Discourses of more weight, the People are willing to please themselves with Rallying and Bullying the Dissenters, and make themselves

merry with scaring their Wives and Children, by telling them they deserve to be all Hang'd, Banish'd and Destroy'd; but to think they are in earnest, and mean as they say, nothing can be more absurd, 'tis as Ridiculous as 'tis to talk with *Houghton* the Apothecary, or *S—ly* the Muster-Master; 'tis like Barking at a Dog, or if an Ass kicks a Man, kicking him again; 'tis like fighting with a Chimney-Sweeper, or scolding with a Fish-Woman; 'tis like any thing that is Ridiculous, and therefore still the Author of *the Shortest Way* was punish'd deservedly, for telling that Story in Earnest which the Church men Preach'd, Printed, and Talkt about only in Jest.

But, Gentlemen, if what you Preach, Print or Say, be in Earnest; if you would have us believe you, and give any heed to your Sermons, your Satyrs and Invectives, if your *WoOLF Strip*, your *Associations*, your *Peace and Union*, be of any weight, then 'tis no Scandal to affirm, that there is a barbarous Design on foot, in, and among some who call themselves the Members of the Church of *England*, to Extirpate and Destroy the Dissenters, and to do every thing by them that is Equivalent to what has been call'd *the Shortest Way*, and consequently that Author was barbarously Treated.

After all that has been done to dress up the Dissenters in the Fool's Coat, to make all the Town Mock 'em, and in the Knave's Coat, to make the Town hate them, let 'em be now blacken'd with Treason, and the World told they are dangerous to the Church, and to the Government, and so dress up in the Traytor's Coat, in order to set the Mob upon them.

The whole House of Lords are abus'd, and the Bishops Lampoon'd for not passing a Bill to Ruin them; nay, the Queen has not scap'd them, for her Majesty's Moderation is the only present check to their Insolent Behaviour; for this they tell us, she has left them in the Lurch, and for that reason the Reverend, but very Drunken Incumbent at *Wickham*, left her Majesty out of his Graces after-Meat ever since, and wou'd have
left

left her out of the Prayers at Church, but that he was afraid of his *Dioceſon*.

Here is now a new Attempt ſtarted, which ſtrikes at the Root of the Diſſenter's Intereſt, and is an effectual way to deſtroy the Succeſſion of them in this Nation, and that is, to prevent them Educating their Children in their own Opinions, poſſibly ſome may be angry if I ſhould call this another *Short Way*; but I muſt take leave to ſay, that next to the Methods formerly propos'd in the Book ſo call'd, this is doubtleſs *the Shorteſt Way with the Diſſenters*.

If I ſhou'd tell the World that there was an Association form'd among ſome Gentlemen in the World, to have follow'd the *Occaſional Bill*, with an Act for diſabling all ſuch Miniſters to Preach in *England*, as were not, for the future, Educated in one of the two Universities of *Oxford* or *Cambridge*. If I ſhou'd ſay that a Mercenary Renegado was hir'd to expoſe the private Accademies of the Diſſenters, as Nurseries of Rebellious Principles, I ſhou'd ſay nothing but what was in too many Mouths to remain a Secret.

I cou'd eaſily run a parallel between theſe Gentlemen's Proceedings, and thoſe of the preſent *French King's*, when he firſt went the *Shorteſt Way with the Proteſtants of France*, and could tell them that they ſeem exactly to follow his bleſſed Example, viz. Firſt, to deprive them of all Offices or Employments in the State; then to take from them the Education of their Children, and then to the pulling down their Churches, &c. and ſo on to Gallows and Gallies; That this was not the readieſt Method, the *Shorteſt Way*, I ſhall never deny, for the Wiſdom and Policy of that Prince is unqueſtionably Great; but that theſe Gentlemen ſhou'd pretend to theſe very ſteps, and yet, at the ſame time, be angry to be told they deſign the reſt, is Impoſing things upon the World too groſs to go down.

Wherefore I cannot but repeat it, that either the deſign is the total Deſtruction of the Diſſenters as a Party,

or their Printing is meer Marketting, their Discourse Banter, and their Preaching Buffoonry.

For one of them to Treat us with good Words, and say this is only to secure the Government, and there is no harm meant the Dissenters that are peaceable, they are only excluded Preferment; and the other tell us, That this design of suppressing their Schools does not Affect the Dissenters, they may serve God according to the Toleration their own Way, it only prevents Posterity following their Method; this is such jesting with the Dissenters, and such a civil way of telling them they are all Fools, that it can hardly be allow'd to pass without a little Satyr upon the Nonsense of it.

The Reverend Mr. *Wesley*, Author of two Pamphlets, Calculated to blacken our Education in the Accademies of the Dissenters, Ingenuously confesses himself Guilty of many Crimes in his Youth, and is the willingest to Confess 'em, as he would lay 'em at the Door of the Dissenters and their Schools, among whom he was Educated; tho', I humbly conceive, it is no more a Proof of the Immorality of the Dissenters in their Schools, *that he was a little rakish among them*, or that he found others among them like himself, than the Hanging five Students of *Cambridge* in a very short compass of time for Robbing on the High-Way, shou'd prove that Padding is a Science taught in that University.

He takes a great deal of pains also to prove, that in those Accademies were, or are taught Antimonarchical Principles, the Author of these Sheets happens to be one that had what little Education he can pretend to, under the same Master that Gentleman was Taught by, *viz. Mr. Charles Morton of Newington Green*, and I have now by me the Manuscripts of Science, the Exercises and Actions of his School, and, among the rest, those of Politicks in particular, and I must do that Learned Gentleman's Memory that Justice to affirm, that neither in his System of Politicks,

liticks, Government and Discipline, or in any other the Exercises of that School, was there any thing Taught or Encourag'd, that was Antimonarchical, or Destructive to the Government, or Constitution of *England*; and particularly among the Performances of that School, I find a Declamation relating to the benefit of a single Person in a Common-Wealth, wherein it is declar'd and prov'd from History and Reason, that Monarchy is the best Government, and the best suited to the Nature of Government, and the Defence of Property; which Discourse, together with the said Manuscripts, System of Politicks and Government, as Read in that School, and which are now above 25 Years old, are left at the Publishers of this Book for any one to peruse, as a Satisfaction of the truth of Fact.

Allow then this Gentleman fell into ill Company afterward, allow we had, and still have worse Rakes among us than himself, does this prove that our Schools teach Men thus, and that the Dissenters in general profess Principles Destructive of Monarchy.

Sir *John Friend*, and Sir *William Parkins*, were Hang'd for Contriving to Assassinate the late King *William*, and these Gentlemen dy'd Church of *England*-men, and Protestants, does it follow that the Church of *England* therefore Owns or Professes the *Doctrine of the Dagger*, teaches Assassination of Princes, and the like.

The Schools of the Dissenters are not so private, but they may be known; they are not asham'd of their Performances, but that any Gentleman of the Church, or any Man of Letters, may be admitted to see and hear what they Teach, and what the Pulpits Act there.

Or if they are Suspected, you may make a Law for a General Inspection, and if any be Guilty, suppress them that are so; but what sort of Justice is this to Suppress them, because, for ought we know, they are Guilty, without Examining the Truth of Fact;

and if it were True in one, or more, suppressing all the rest—— But this is Ch—ch Justice ; this is the effect of our Men of Temper, and their Civility to their Neighbours.

And if the Destruction of the Dissenting Interest was not in this Design, why is not the Examination directed, the Guilt prov'd, the Guilty singl'd out, and Expos'd, or the Slander silenc'd ?

And when all is done, Gentlemen, why do we erect private Accademies, and Teach our Children by themselves, even for the same Reason that we don't Communicate with you, *viz.* Because you shut us Out, and Exclude us, by Imposing unreasonable Terms. Open a Door to us in your Universities, and let our Youth be fairly admitted to Study there, without Imposing Oaths and Obligations upon them, and it shall no more be said that we erect Schools in opposition to you. 'Tis confess'd, we wou'd ask you to Reform the University Morals a little, as to the Trifles of Drunkenness and Leudness, if it might be ; but upon a Freedom of Study without Unjust and Unfair Terms, and Oaths Impos'd, we wou'd venture their Morals, and it shou'd not be our Faults, if your Universities had not 2000 of our Children always there.

Or if you refuse us this Liberty, give us leave to Erect Foundations of our own there, and to Endow them our selves ; give our Youth leave to study there, subject to all general Offices and Rules of the University, and only Free within Doors, and you shall soon see we will neither injure your University, nor set up others of our own.

But while you shut our Children out of your Schools, never Quarrel at our Teaching them at Schools of our own, or sending 'em into Foreign Countries to be Taught, since wherever they are Taught they generally get a share of Learning, at least equal to your selves, and, we hope, partake of as much Honesty ; and as to their Performances *Match them, and*
Out-

Out-preach them, if you can; I wish that was the only strife between us.

Upon this Article Mr. S—rell of Oxford has blown his second Trumpet, to let us know he has not yet taken down his Bloody Flag, and that he was the real Author of the *Shortest Way*, tho' another was Punish'd for it, and we see he has the face to let them know, he is still of the same mind.

I confess I am a little surpriz'd, to see Mr. Sa—rell begin his Sermon with a Tenent long exploded by the Church, till they found themselves a little Embarrass'd with it. In short, 'tis a Whiggist Principle, and I am glad to have his Voucher to Confirm it, this Gentleman owns, in the very first Lines, that *the Regular Administration of Justice, is the Grand End and Design both of Government and Law.* P. first.

If this be true, it follows, that Justice *which is the End*, is Superior to the King that Executes. *who is the Means*, for the End is always Superior to the Means, and if this be true, Deposing Tyrannick evil Administering Princes cannot be Criminal, because they Over-turn and Destroy the end of Government, and the thing it self must fall to the Ground.

We thank him for this Concession, and hope he will not take it ill if we find it convenient to Quote him upon this occasion, in order to Confute such Authors who will still have it be the Doctrine of the Ch. of E. to submit the Laws and Administration of Justice absolutely to the Dispose of the Crown.

I am still farther in his debt, for a Declaration against a persecuting Spirit, P. 5. he tells us honestly, "Whoever is Guilty of an undeserv'd, unwarrantable Act of Rigour, must be presum'd to have a malicious Inclination.

To state this, I am forc'd to have recourse to the Preamble of the first Occasional Bill, which ran thus, "Whereas Persecution, meerly on Account of Conscience, is contrary to the Principles of the Christian Religion, and to the Doctrine of the Church of

"*England.*" This Gentleman confirms it, for if Persecution is contrary to the Christian Religion, 'tis certainly an undeserv'd, unwarrantable Rigour, and consequently proceeds from a malicious Inclination.

Why this Preamble was wholly left out in the second Bill, I know not; nor will I affirm I believe it was from what some have had Charity little enough to suggest, *viz.* That the Bill being to contain the very essence of Persecution, they were loth it shou'd be Condemn'd by its own Title.

As to that little part of this Gentleman's Discourse, which he calls Sermon, or that has any Divinity in it, I shall wave any Debate, his extraordinary Eloquence I acknowledge, with gall not a little, and prejudice to extremity, tho' Haranguing against it.

But as to the Jest of the Sermon, the Farce in the Play, the Buffoonery of it, I must take it a little apart.

And *First*, reducing his Discourse to the Article of Prejudice, as it concerns Parties and Interest, he gives himself a loose to play the Mad-man a little, and Banter *Occasional Conformity* as the most hideous Monster that ever appear'd in this part of the World; for Answer to which, I think 'tis enough to refer him back to the reverend Bishop of *Salisbury's* Speech in the House of Lords, where he proves 'twas the practice of *Queen Elizabeth*, to admit of Persons of Different Religions into Places of Trust; if the Case still continued, the *Test* wou'd cease, and *Occasional Conformity* dye of course.

Then he turns his Discourse into Lampoon upon the Bishops, and Taxes those Reverend Gentlemen, with Breaking their Oaths, betraying the Church they pretend to support, and with favouring the Churches implacable Enemies the Dissenters.

As to the Perjury of the Bishops, I cannot but observe, how cunningly this Gentleman has hook'd them in; first, he Taxes them for breaking their Oaths, and then

then bewails the Insufficiency of our Laws in punishing Perjury ; and Exhorts the Judges, to whom he preach'd, to prompt the Executing the utmost Severity in Cases of Perjury ; and to endeavour to have the Deficiency of the Law supply'd.

What is it, says he, that the Infatuation of Prejudice will not persuade Men to do: If it can prevail even upon those, who pretend to support our Church and Government, in spite of their Oaths and Obligations, to betray them, P. 32.

Then running on in a scurrilous Invective on the Dissenters, he concludes, *Are these the Wolves in Sheeps Cloathing, that are to be Invited and Complimented, even by our superior Pastors into Christ's fold to worry and devour it, Page ibid.* The Man raves.

First, Sir, can you prove that any of your Superior Pastors have Invited and Complimented the Dissenters.

Secondly, Can you prove they have Invited them into Christ's Fold to Worry and Devour.

If neither of these be true, then these are two of the positive Untruths, I am loath to say *L—s*, of which I'll prove, you have in this one Sermon debauch'd the Pulpit with about Fourteen, to the Scandal of the Ministerial Function, the Reproach of the Coat you wear, and the open Discovery of your Honesty and Temper: As to the rest let my Lords, the Bishops, Answer for themselves, and, indeed, I think my Lord of *Salisbury* has effectually done it in his Speech to the House of Peers.

As to the Dissenters, Sir, we expect no good Language from you, *for it is not your Talent*, but Truth we expect, and if you wont speak it, we must see if we can at least expose your Falshood, and the Punishment will be Detecting your Prevarication, and positive Falsties of which no Sermon sure was ever so full.

From your 31st page to 36. your Discourse is an entire Invective against the Dissenters, wherein forgetting all the Rules of Decency, you Treat them with
worse

worse Language than, in good Manners, wou'd be thought fit to give to *Pagans, Indians, and Worshipers of the Devil.*

'Tis suppos'd you dont desire we shou'd be at the pains to prove that by *Phanaticks*, you mean all the several sorts of Dissenters, and by *Phanaticism*, their Opinions are the terrible things you mean, and this I take for granted, both from the Scope of your Sermon, which seems to be a Mals of Gall, mixt up to a Consistency with Prejudice, Envy, Pride, and ungovern'd Passion.

And, indeed, Sir, on these Accounts the Zeal of the Lord having so eaten you up, as hardly to leave you your Senses free from the Taint we had never thought it worth, while to reply to so much Rallery, and such Abusive Language, as things not fit for a reasonable Man's Notice, but for the sake of those honest Gentlemen's Names, who you put in the Front.

Now, as you are pleas'd to Dedicate your Book to them, and to tell us it was at their Command you publish'd it, 'twou'd have tended much to the removing some doubts in our Thoughts, if you had obtain'd, from those Gentlemen, a short signification of the true Reasons why they ordered the publication, some People, who have the honour to know some of them, being of Opinion that they did it meerly to banter you, and to let you give the World the Character of your self; Others think those Gentlemen might think 'twas a Compliment you expected, and that since they knew you had prepar'd it for the Press, they were unwilling to deprive you of what 'tis known you are extremely fond of, I mean the appearing in Print to the World.

Their Lordships the Judges, it seems, are the only two who had Kindness and Charity enough for you, not to prompt you to make your self so scandalously publick, and therefore we do not find my Lord Chief Baron Ward cou'd be perswaded to be so far accessary to the exposing you.

But

But to enter upon the Matter I ask your leave, that laying aside all other Debates about your Sermon, and not troubling my self with the foulness of your Language, and the bitter Invectives against the Dissenters, as things which do you little good, and your Argument less, I shall only tell you, Sir, the Case in dispute between the Church and the Dissenters on your side, is supported very much by Rudeness and ill Manners, Opprobrious Language, &c. but on our side needs it not.

I shall therefore leave you to go on in your usual stream of Raillery and ill Words, and only inform the World how the Pulpit, which claims a due Reverence to Truth, and a needful caution as to Matter of Fact, has had the misfortune to Patronize you, in Affirming a great many things which you cannot make out to be true.

1. You Affirm this *Phanaticism*, that is, these Opinions of the Dissenters, is *nothing else but a most Full and Comprehensive Combination of all Wayward and Diabolical Prejudices*, P. 31.

Now, Sir, allowing that our Dissenting from you were ill Grounded in some Points, which, nevertheless, I do not grant, since we agree with you in all the Fundamentals of Doctrine, and Sign to 36 of your 39 Articles of Faith, how will you do to prove that our Dissenting, which you call *Phanaticism*, is nothing else but a full Combination of all Prejudices; how you Compliment Thirty Six of the Church Articles in this Case, to be part of this Combination I leave you to Defend at your Leisure? You have been taught, Sir, in that Fountain of Learning, where you make your present figure, a better kind of Logic than Affirming without Proving; so that till you prove our Principles to be *Nothing else but a Combination of all Prejudices*, we must crave leave of you to set this Affirmation of yours down, as a Falshood, and figure it in order No. 3.

Then, Sir, I demand you to prove that these Prejudices of the Dissenters are Diabolical.

If it wou'd serve to convince you, I could bring you the Testimony of all the Eminent Persons of your own Church, who have disputed with us on the Heads of our Dissenting, and none of 'em would ever advance a Notion so Black, so full of Malice, and so empty of Charity, that we are under *Diabolical Prejudices*, and consequently *cannot be sav'd out of your Church*, this is Popery in its exalted Extreams, and without using much Compliment with you, I affirm, that the Dissenters, Sir, are by all the Rules from which a Christian Man may judge within the Compass of a Way of Salvation, as much as the Church of England, and that I may not, like you, affirm what I cannot make out. I prove it thus,

They Profess the same Doctrine, the same Faith, the same Saviour, and the same Baptism with your Selves, and if the Faith in a Redeemer, which is one and exactly alike in those who are good Christians, and believers on either side, is effectual to save One, it must be effectual to save the Other.

This position therefore being as yet unprov'd, and the contrary own'd by the Fathers and Doctors of your own Church in all Ages, I must mark it No. 4 and set it down as a meer Genuine Forgery of your own Brain, form'd in that very prejudice you pretend to Condemn, and advanc'd to the World from a Heart full of Malice, thro' a Mouth full of Cursing and Bitterness, without Argument, Proof, Circumstance or Probability.

Then, Sir, you go on in the very next Words, for every Line abounds with falshood, to tell us you can never be safe, or secure from our restless and embroiling Designs.

How, Sir, I cannot forbear asking you what are these Designs? We own the design to enjoy our Liberty of Worshipping God according to our Consciences, which, to your great mortification, is now our Right by Law, and which her Majesty, to your yet greater Disappointment, has promis'd us to maintain

and continue, for which you very fairly Unchurch'd her, and declared her no other Friend to you, in another Invective of yours formerly printed. We own also, the design of maintaining our just Rights and Privileges as *English* men, and by all lawful Means to oppose and suppress all sorts of Tyranny and Oppression, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil

As to all other designs, Sir, we Challenge you to prove them, or any other of them. We have always been upon the Defensive with you; we have ever been attack'd, and have only resisted your Violence? You are the daily Aggressors; we Ask nothing, or Say nothing, till you force us by your furious and open Attempts upon our just Freedom, which you will always find us willing, and, I hope, able to Defend.

We can prove your Party Guilty of Plots and Embroiling Designs. We defy you to show us one Dissenter, either in the late villanous Plot to Assassinate the Nations Deliverer, and the best King that ever sat on the *English* Throne, or, in the present Conspiracy. But we are ready to give you a Black List, when you please, of Church of *England* Protestants, in both Leaguings with *France* to Embroil the Government of their native Country, Murther, and Depose their Lawful Prince, and Introduce a Popish Successor.

To call upon you therefore for a Proof of the Embroiling designs of the Dissenters, is but a just return to your Invidious Charge, and till you produce it, let that stand for a double falshood, No. 5. 6.

To fill up that one Page of Scandal, and make it pass for a true Libel, you go back to *the never to be forgotten* Year of 41.

And why, Sir, *never to be forgotten*; her Majesty, in her Speeches to excite the Nation to *Peace and Union*, recommends Temper, and generous Principles, all the Men of Temper in your own Church tell us, the only way to Peace is to lay aside former Annimosities, and Remembrances of past Mischiefs. If they must never be forgotten, pray, Sir, are you willing to recriminate, did

did we suppose we were the Men, do any thing to King Charles I. but what you did to his Son; has not a noble Lord vouchsafing to turn Author, and write the History of that Rebellion, has he not told us in the first Part of his first Volume, that the ill Conduct of that Prince brought all the Calamities of Civil War upon his Head; had you done less for his Son, if he had staid and fought you as his Father did? And did you do less when you fought him in Ireland? How often have you been Challeng'd to bring your Loyalty to the Test with us, and see who has rais'd more rebellions against the Establish'd Government, or Murder'd more Princes, You or We.

Let us look upon your present Proceedings,----- you say your poor Episcopal Church in *Scotland* suffers Barbarous and Bloody Usage there, and that we never gave the Church any Quarter when we had her in our power.

'Tis a misfortune to you that your Passion so outgoes your Reason, that when you happen to be in, you will be in, and not content to pass the Truth in one particular; you forget it in all the particulars, for neither of these Cases happen to have any shadow of Truth in them.

The Barbarisms and Bloody doings us'd with the Episcopal Party in *Scotland* amounted to so few, that when they represented their Sufferings in an Address to Her Majesty, all the sume of the Matter was so Trivial, that her Majesty saw only Reason to Admonish them to more Love and Charity with the Ministers of the National Church, and to a due Submission to the Establish'd Government.

To state this wonderful Grievance 'tis to be observ'd, That the Great present Quarrel is at the Scottish Establishment, and the Deposing Episcopacy. That the *Scots* have an undoubted Right to, the *Presbyterian* Establishment, being the Original Protestant Settlement of that Nation, into which they immediately Engaged at their first Reformation.

Episcopacy

Episcopacy is an *English* Encroachment upon them, and was first attempted by King *James* the First, about the Year 1615, and since that, with great reluctance, had been submitted to in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, but was Abolish'd by Act of Parliament at the Revolution, stands now Expell'd, and her Majesty knows too well the Rights of her People, to attempt its Restoration against the Constitution of that Nation.

In which the just regard her Majesty has to the Native Rights of her People is Conspicuous, and Moderation known to all the World.

But wou'd this Gentleman be willing we shou'd inform the World of the Patience with which these sufferers bear the Expulsion of their Hierarchy; what Insults of the present Incumbents; what Tumults and Breaches of the Peace; what Clamours and Threatnings do the present Establishment there bear with every day? For which we refer to the Letter from the general Assembly there to her Majesty, and the Accounts of Affairs daily transmitted by Impartial Hands, and made publick.

As to the Bloody usage of the Dissenters there it is all Forgery and Malice, and those Severities that have been us'd with them, would have been much less, had they first submitted to the Constitution, taken the Oaths to the Government, and made the Dispute meerly Religious.

And yet, considering the Bloody and Barbarous usage of the Dissenters formerly in that Kingdom, *the Truth is*, they had reason to expect little favour, since I believe 'tis easy to make it out, that more People have been Murther'd under the Episcopal Tyranny in *Scotland*, at their Religious Meetings only, than the Bloody Reign of Queen *Mary*, formerly sacrific'd here on account of Popery and Transubstantiation.

These therefore are positive untruths, your Church has fair Quarter now in *Scotland*, the Profession of it without Tests, Sacraments, or any Obligations, *but*
that

did we suppose *we were the Men*, do any thing to King Charles I. but what you did to his Son; has not a noble Lord vouchsafing to turn Author, and write the History of that Rebellion, has he not told us in the first Part of his first Volume, that the ill Conduct of that Prince brought all the Calamities of Civil War upon his Head; had you done less for his Son, if he had staid and fought you as his Father did? And did you do less when you fought him in *Ireland*? How often have you been Challeng'd to bring your Loyalty to the Test with us, and see who has rais'd more rebellions against the Establish'd Government, or Murther'd more Princes, You or We.

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that

that of the Oath of Allegiance, enjoy the advantage of Places and Preferments, a thing we are denied here, and all this Clamour, Sir, is so directly opposite to plain and demonstrated Truth, that we can Appeal even to the Queen's Majesty her self, to testify for us, that you are mistaken, and consequently encrease the List of Falsties to No. 7 and 8.

I purposely omit your bitter *Investive at Occasional Conformity*, and at your own Friends, for rejecting the Bill against it, let the Bishops you have Lampoon'd, and the House of Lords you have Arraign'd, Answer you, as thanks be to God they have effectually done.

Then, Sir, you come in with another Forgery of your own Brain, P. 35. *These Designing Men*, by the false Pretences of Moderation serve themselves in a Two-fold Way, both upon the Church to Amuse and cast it into a Deed Sleep, and then like Dalila to let in the Philistines by widening a Breach in her Constitution: First, to weaken, and then to overthrow it, and then on the Dissenters, to encourage them in their Sins, by mitigating Theirs, and the Churches Differences; and which is more Astonishing, by justifying their damnable Schism, and this blessed Speech you bring to this short Conclusion, *what have these Men to do with Peace and Union?* Thus, Sir, you have lift up your Banner of Defiance a second time, and in the Name of the Church you tell us we shall have no Peace nor Union with you—— We are sorry for it, and if all the Church of England was of your Mind, we know what he had to expect but blessed be God, this is the Language only of one mad Priest, a Fury made up of a Complication of Malice, intollerable Pride, bigotted Zeal, and bloody Hellish Unchristian Principles, to whom I shall Reply in the Words of our Blessed Saviour, to those high spirited passionate Disciples that were for calling fire from Heaven on the Jews. *Ye know not what Spirits you are of.*

But now, that the Dissenters may not stand alone this angry Gentleman, lets his Passion loose at all the

Men of Moderation in his own Church, and this last Paragraph is a whole Satyr upon those we call Low-Church-men.

These, he says, under pretence of Moderation, cast the Church into a dead Sleep, in order to over-throw the Constitution.

No. 9. This stands plain to be reckon'd a Notorious Imposition upon 2 Millions of honest Gentlemen, who not only are now, but at all times have been the Bulwark of the Church of *England*, and it must remain to me as a perfect Forgery, till he proves one Act, which the Moderate Church-men ever did to over-throw the Constitution of the Church.

In the mean time while I leave this Gentleman to prove his hasty Affirmative if he can, I shall prove another Affirmative, out of which the Negative to his assertion will be plain by Consequence; and this I take to be a fair way of Disputing, if he can tell me a fairer, I am ready to join Issue with him.

First, Then I can prove that these Men of Moderation have, when the Church has been reduc'd to the last Extremity, been the only Refuge, Deliverance, and Restorers of the Church.

To go no farther back than the Bishops who were sent to the Tower in King *James* the Second's Reign, who, when you Gentlemen of the Tribe of *Jehu* had sooth'd up that abus'd Prince to believe you spoke as you meant, when you talk'd of *Passive Obedience*, and *Non Resistance*, and upon that Presumption had encourag'd him to lay the Plan of the Churches Destruction, who were the Men that fled from his Authority to the Protection of the Laws, but the present Bishop of *London*, who first broke the Ice by refusing the Illegal suspension of *Dr. Tennifer*, then incumbent at *St. Giles's* in the Fields, and after this the Bishops, who went to the Tower, because they wou'd not consent to a Suspension of the Laws, and yet, at the same time, declar'd the Moderation of their Principles and Charity for their Brethren,

thren, in promising to come to a Temper with the Dissenters.

And, with these Worthy Prelates, joyn'd all the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, who set their Hands to the Invitation given the Prince of *Orange*, and who joyn'd with him to rescue this Church from the Destruction that then threatned her.

These, Sir, are the Men of Moderation, most of them are Enemies to your Fiery Temper, and have honestly appear'd against your *Occasional Bill*, 'tis to these Moderate Church-men you owe, next to Divine Providence, the Restoration and Establishment of your Church, and in particular, Sir, of *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*, of which, if you write your self a Fellow, you ought not to be so ungrateful as to turn upon your Deliverers, and charge them with Overthrowing your Constitution, by whose Courage, Honesty and Temper, you now enjoy your Fellowship, the College her Foundation Settlement, the Church her Establishment, and the Nation her Liberties.

These are the Men of Moderation, who gave Peace to the Dissenters, and while those Gentlemen Live, the Church of *England* must flourish, and will do so, and her Dissenting Brethren under their Protection enjoy the Peace they wish for, and with which they always declar'd themselves satisfied and content.

Many Instances more could be given you, in which 'tis plain to prove the Church owes her present Settlement under a Protestant Queen, to the Justice, Candor, and Courage of the Moderate Church-men, when the Fury of such Hot Spurs as we are now talking to, have brought it to the Door of Destruction; but I think this sufficient to detect this horrid Suggestion, that the Moderate Men are the Over-throwers of the Constitution of the Church.

The Moderate Church-men there, says he, Mitigate the Differences between the Church and the Dissenters.

Do they so, Sir, they then can act like Christians, for whether is the Spirit of Moderation, or that of Persecution, the most like a Christian.

But if you mean by this they have made the Differences seem less than they really are, I must call that by the same Name with the rest, because it is impossible you shou'd pretend to prove it.

But then you come with two positive Contradictions in one Sentence, which including the former, brings the Account up to No. 12.

The moderate Men soothe the Dissenters, by justifying their Damnable Schism.

Astonishing Language! First, 'tis impossible to prove they justify this damnable Schism, because, secondly, Sir, there is no damnable Schism among us.

Were these Gentlemen to be answer'd by Arguments or Authorities; were they to be convinc'd by Proofs, by Demonstrations, by any way of Arguing, they have been told, 1st, by the whole House of Peers, including the Spiritual Lords themselves, that the Dissenters are no Schismatics, Mr. *Hales* of *Eaton*, a Church of *England* Divine, has clear'd us, by unanswerable Arguments, from the Charge of Schism.

If these are not sufficient, we fairly Challenge our Adversary to Answer Mr. *DeLaune*, the Protestant Reconciler, the Conformists Plea for the Non-Conformists Mr. *Henry*, Mr. *Tongue*, and multitudes more, who have clear'd up this Point, and make it very plain, that our separation from the Church is no Schism at all, much less can it bear the Charitable Epethet of *Damnable*, bestow'd upon it by this passionate Gentleman.

I come now to another false Accusation, and yet affirm'd with as much Front as the rest, that *the Dissenters never fail'd to betray the Church, when ever they (the Church) trusted them (the Dissenters.)*

I think my self very civil to the Gentleman in letting this pass but for one, and calling it No. 13. because I am perswaded he cannot tell us, *tho' we can,*

when ever the Church trusted the Dissenters with any thing, as well as that he cannot prove when ever the Dissenters betray'd 'em.

But without putting him to prove whenever the Dissenters betray'd them, it is sufficient to prove the falsity of his Argument, if I name him a time when the Church did trust the Dissenters, and they did not betray them, and when they had it in their Power to have reduc'd them below the probability of an Establishment.

And because I purpose shortly to visit them with a full Draught of the Treaty between the Dissenters in this Case, and some Truths which I perceive this Author knows nothing of, I shall be the shorter on this Head.

When in King *James the Second's* Time his Majesty found, that in order to reduce the Church, it was his business to Carress the Dissenters, and accordingly publish'd an Immediate Indulgence, a great many of the Dissenters made warm by their former sufferings, clos'd eagerly with the Proposals, and would willingly have set their Hand to the work; but when the Men of Temper, *for we do not deny to have some too violent Spirits among us*, came to consider the Case, they found the design struck at the whole Body of the Church of *England*, they considered them as Protestants and Brethren, they considered the Methods using with them as Destructive to the Laws, as to the Church, and a Plot as well on Liberty as Religion, they immediately stop't short, and tho' they cou'd not but accept of Liberty as their Right and Proper due in matters of Religion, yet they could not consent to enjoy it as a Ruine to the Law, and therefore vigorously oppos'd the taking off the Penal Laws, tho' they themselves were to reap the benefit of it. In this juncture the Church finding the Root of her Constitution strook at, and that if the Dissenters were brought over to joyn in that Attempt, she should be undone without Remedy, immediately apply'd to the Dissenters, repre-

sent

ent to them the design as aim'd at the whole Protestant Body, call upon them with a *Proximus Ardet*, and tell them of *Polyphemus's Courtesie*, call the Declaration of Indulgence a *Trojan Horse*, and talk to them as Brethren and Fellow Christians all United in one Faith, Doctrine, Baptism, hope of Life and Saviour, and at last come to the Point, that if they would joyn with the Church to resist Invading Popery, they would call in the Prince of *Orange*, and fight for their Liberty and Religion; and as to Differences. they would call a healing Parliament, establish Indulgence by Law, fix an eternal Liberty of Conscience, and from this time forward we should be all Brethren.

If you doubt, Sir, the Truth of this, either of the Churches danger at that time, or the Dissenters quitting their Revenge, and the Promises of their Prince, Examine the Collage, of which you write Fellow, some of your worthy Contemporaries can justify all this, and more.

Thus, Sir, you trusted us, and we never betray'd you.

Thus, Sir, We trusted you, and you have betray'd us; our Indulgence, indeed, you have perform'd, and we acquit you of that, tho' we know what we owe in that Case to King *William*, but where's the future Correspondence of Brethren, where the promis'd Temper? All this is forgot, and now, when we say, is there Peace, you Answer, with *Jehu*, *What Peace so long as the Whoredoms of your Mother Jezabelle continue*, you cry, *what have we to do with Peace and Union?*

Thus, Sir, I think your Assertion is sufficiently prov'd false, by proving we have been Trusted, and have not betray'd you, I wish you could defend the Treachery of your Church from as plain an Example.

By the By, Sir, I must note a very Christian-way of Arguing in your 35th Page, when you come to justify your persecuting Spirit, *As to Persecution of tender Consciences*, say you, *I appeal to the Histories of our Kingdom, whether ever they gave the Church the least Favour or Quarter, when they had her under their Power.*

I must finish my present Discourse with you upon this Head, and first, I must debate the Christian with you——. Suppose it were true that we had not, is it therefore justifiable that you must persecute tender Consciences?

To what degrees of madness does the unbounded fury of Men's Passions lead them; is this, Sir, your Christian Religion, is this Church of *England* Religion, wou'd any Man look for such Language in a Sermon against Prejudice?

I have noted in the beginning of this Book, that in the Preface to the first *Occasional Bill*, you will find these Words, *Persecution of tender Consciences is contrary to the Principles of the Christian Religion, and the Doctrine of the Church of England.*

Well, Gentlemen, but tho' it be both contrary to the Christian and the Church of *England* Man, yet you will do it, because we never show'd you any Favour or Quarter when we had you in our Power.

Excellent Christians! you will Revenge your selves tho' you act against the Christian Principles, and the Doctrine of your own Church.

But after all, Gentlemen, the excuse for this Matter happens to be false too, for when we had you in our Power in K. *James's* time, we did show you favour, and give you Quarter, for we chose War for your sakes, and quitted all the Promises and Advantages we had made and offered us by your Adversary, and are rewarded like your Selves.

In this Case your Clamours are so Unjust, that we cannot but let you know that we are preparing an exact History, both of our Treatment of you, and your Treatment of us, which you shall have a Monthly Prospect of, in which all your Barbarities and Injustices, as well as Ingratitude to the Dissenters, shall at large appear.

And as we are forced to this Method to undeceive the World, to whom such Incendiaries as you misrepresent us, so you are notoriously the Aggressors in

your

your constant Endeavours to blacken us to Posterity, and force us to expose you for our own just Vindication.

We had much rather live in Peace, and Bury the Iniquities of our, and your Fathers, in silence with their Ashes; but since you are always raking up the Actions of the Dead, and valuing your selves upon the Days of 41, we shall treat you back to your Original, and bring you to an exact Balance, as to Rebellion, Loyalty, killing of Kings, Persecution, Principles, Honesty and Charity, and we declare our selves content to stand by the Foot of the Account with you.

In the mean time we have been Adveriz'd in Print of a *Black List*, preparing for publick view, of all the Sufferings of the Church of *England* Clergy in the Rebellion of 1641. and that all well-wishers to the Nation's Fouds should send in what Materials they have to raise the Bulk. I take the freedom to give the Author Notice that we will give them time to finish their design, we will abate them all Mr. *Calamy's* 9th Chapter of Mr. *Baxter's* Life, and 3000 Ministers silenc'd and turn'd out; we will, perhaps, add something for them to the List of their Sufferers, we will throw them in 500000 *l.* Sterling in the Account of Damages; we will quit them a Tun of Dissenters Blood, and abate them all the time they take to Muster up their Evidences, and, in the short space of 14 days after their Publication, come to a fair Account of Persecution with them, and the whole cause shall turn upon the Balance.

If this Challenge be not fair, let them Answer this, and I'll make them yet a fairer.

And as I design once a Month to give a particular of the Mis-representations and base Treatment the Dissenters receive from this Party, till I have gone thro' the whole History, so I shall produce such unanswerable Proofs, such just Authorities, and plain Matter of Fact, that I have no Apprehension of being disprov'd, having no need to help out our Cause with so weak and disadvantageous a shift as the refuge of Lyes.

A

New TEST

OF THE

CHURCH of ENGLAND's

HONESTY.

IT is not many Months since the World was Enter-
tain'd with a yet Unanswer'd Pamphlet, Entituled,
A Test of the Church of England's Loyalty; wherein 'tis
but too plainly made out, that, indeed, as to Loyalty,
Obedience to Princes, Passive Submission, and the like,
the Church of *England* can give but a very indifferent
Account of her self.

'Tis a particular Unhappiness to those Gentlemen
of the Church, who have been so very forward to at-
tack the Dissenters upon all Occasions, that they have
forgot to fortify this weak part of their Cause; but
while they have been very busy Abusing the Enemy,
and Amusing their Friends, they have left them so
Naked to the Insults of their Wit, on this Article, that
the whole Party has been, as it were, absolutely De-
feated.

'Tis

'Tis true, they have made use of Power for want of Argument, and supplied the place of an Answer by finding the Author a Lodging in *Newgate*: And he that own'd that Pamphlet to be his, has found the Truth of that old Verse which ends with

Acheronta Movebo.

Which being Interpreted, may signify, That if Arguments cannot answer him, the *Pillory* and a *Fine, Ultra Tenementum* shall.

That unhappy Author forgot the old Maxim of *Machiavel*, *That when Men argue about Religion, if One Side cannot Answer, it certainly ends in a Battle*: For it is most Natural, when the Tongue has done its utmost, to fall to work with the Hand. Therefore I would advise that Gentleman, whose only Misfortune is to have too little Caution, that he should never clench an Argument so very fast, as not to leave the Adversary one corner to creep out at; for they then immediately fall on him with their heavy Cannon: 'Tis like Cooping-up a strong Enemy, and forcing them to some desperate Attack to break out; in which they often succeed, beyond all the common Rules of War.

Our Modern Champions of the Church, who have Stock enough to make good the Front of their Cause, and every day Bully the Dissenters in Print; have also Wit enough to omit all Notice of this terrible Defeat in their Rear, and push on the Battle, as if they knew nothing of the Matter.

Sa—rek, the Generalissimo of the Oxford Squadron, has spread his Bloody Flag against the Dissenters, and long before *de Foe's* Book told us *the Shortest Way with them*, has loaded them with Rebellion, with killing of Kings, destroying Monarchy, and setting up Anarchy, and Schismatical Power: Never taking Notice, that the Church of *England* Men have kill'd as many Kings as the Presbyterians; have been Rebels oftener than the Dissenters; have Set-up Schismatical Conventicles upon weaker

worse Grounds than the Whigs, and have belied the very Doctrins they themselves preach'd to the People.

'Tis something to be wonder'd at, that when the Author of *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, was charg'd with Sedition, he did not think fit to tell the World, that this was Church of England Sedition. Preach'd in a Church of England Pulpit, Printed in a Church of England University, officiously Licens'd, and consecrated by Church of England Authority: Had he done thus, and produc'd *Sacheverel's* Book for it, Entituled *Political Union*, Licens'd by the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford; I know not what Others might do, but I am sure no English Jury wou'd ha' brought him in Guilty.

But since this Victory over the Church's Loyalty is so very compleat, and there needs nothing further to be said about it; let us now make another Attack, and see if they can defend their *HONESTY* any better than their *Loyalty*.

It then upon the Whole Matter it can be Prov'd, That their *Honesty* has run the same Fate with their *Loyalty*; that they are a Parcel of *K—s*, as well as *Rebels*; that they are no more Bound by their Common Integrity to One another, to their Neighbours, nor to Themselves, than they are Bound by their Allegiance to their Princes; then any body may guess at the rest of their Principles, and all the World may expect to be treated by them accordingly.

Before we descend to the Particulars of this Black Charge, which, as Black as it is, shall effectually be made out upon those People it reaches, 'twill be necessary to state the Point as to these two Articles:

First, What it is I mean by the *Honesty* of the Church of England Men.

Secondly, Who those are we call the Church of England.

As to the First, I must premise, That I do not mean Personal Honesty, as to Dealings between Man and Man; or Honesty of the Flesh among the different
Sexes.

Sexes, in which Cases possibly, they may have a General Proportion with other People: But I mean their *Ecclesiastical Honesty*, their Honesty as a Church in General, the Honesty of the *Clergy* and *Members* of the Church, in Matters relating to the Religious Polity, and their Dealings with their Christian Neighbours.

By the *Church*, now I must be allow'd to understand those who *call themselves the Church*; those Bishops and Clergy of the Church, who have so carefully Distinguish'd themselves, as to Condemn all the *Low-Churchmen*, as they call them, for Traytors to the Church, and Betrayers of her Doctrine and Discipline: In a word, those Gentlemen who have undertaken the Defence of some of her Extraordinary Proceedings, and all those who Passively Assent and Consent by not Declaring their Opinions to the Contrary; *for he that is not Against them, is With them.*

I cannot but judge that Doctrine, or that Opinion, to be the Doctrine and Opinion of the Whole Church, which being preach'd in the Pulpit, and handed to the World from the Press, by a Church Clergy man, is not Exploded and Condemn'd by the *Diocesan*, and the Person oblig'd to Recant, or be Censur'd for it.

If this be not the Act of the Church, then nothing can be call'd an Act of the Church of *England*, but what is acted by the Convocation, or a National Synod: And indeed this has been a Hole at which abundance of People have crept out, in some Things they were asham'd of; Disowning them as the Acts of private People, and not of the Church.

But in the Sence here premis'd, I think 'tis just, that what One Minister Preaches and Publishes, the *Diocesan* Licensing, or not Disapproving, should be esteem'd the general Act of the Church: And if this shall not be allow'd, we shall never arrive at a certainty, when the Church may be said to do this or that; but all the Mistakes of her Doctors shall lie at their own private Doors, and the Church, as a Church, never be charg'd with it: And this is an Effectual Method to ward off all manner of Reproach.

But

But since all the Sons of *Levi* are under the Sacerdotal Authority of their *Diocesan*, I cannot but make Them Accountable, and charge the Church with all the *Errata* of her Inferior Clergy, as her own Act and Deed; because it is in her Power always to Reprove every Thing she does not Approve; to Censure what is not Agreeable to her Canon, Principle, or Practice; or at least, to Declare her Dissent or Dislike.

And tho', if I may be allow'd to speak impartially on the Behalf of the generality of *English Protestants* Conforming to the Church, I shall freely own, That much the greater part, both of the Nobility, of the Gentry, and common People, are really blest with a Moderation of Principles, and a Temper of Charity towards all Men, and towards their Dissenting Neighbours and Brethren in particular: Yet since by the Writing and Maxims of these Gentlemen of the Church, this Spirit of Calmness and Moderation is Condemn'd and Exploded as Trayterous to the Church, as a Parricide on the common Parent, as a Ripping up the Bowels of the Church, and the like; and all the Gentlemen who practise such Moderation, Declar'd to be Parties to *Whiggism* and *Fanaticism*; and notwithstanding all their Assent and Consent, Oaths, Communion, and all necessary Testimony of their Conformity, are blackned with worse Titles, if worse can be, than the *most Obstinate Dissenters*. Since all the Moderate Gentlemen are thus Unchurch'd and Anathematiz'd at once, I think I do no Injustice to that Party who have taken upon them the Title of *the Church of England*, Abstracted from the Incumbrances of Charity, Temper, and Moderation, and to Join with them as far as for the sake of the Argument is needful, in Unchurching all the Moderate Men; and in the Words of the Famous *Sa—rel*, Licensed by the University of *Oxford*, conclude, That *all Men who wish the Welfare of the Church, ought to Lift up the Bloody Flag against their Protestant Brethren the Dissenters*; or,
in

in plain English, proceed against them *the Shortest Way.*

This being premis'd, I think I am Justified in the Method of this Book; and I *claim*, That wherever I mention the *Church of England*, I may be understood of those People who own the Principles of Mr. *Sa—wrel*, those Distinguish'd for such by the Author of *the Character of a Low-Churchman*; those who have been content to be the Heralds of War against the Late Reign, who will have the *Tolleration* Branded as a *Phanatick Plot*, and Rail at it because they cannot have it *Repeal'd*.

These I am content to call the *Church of England* for the Time being; and if the Church thinks her self Injur'd in the Denomination, as indeed I think she is, the Scandal however is her Due; so far, as she has not thought fit to *Condemn* the Doctrine, and *Censure*, if not *Punish*, the Authors.

I am further Justified in Arguing against these Men, in the Name of *the Church of England*, for these following Reasons.

1. Because they have Assum'd to Themselves a Liberty of Advancing their Bloody Designs in the Name of the *Whole*, and have call'd Themselves *the Church of England*.

2. Those Moderate Members of the Church, who, tho' they do not comply in their Judgment or Practice with these *Sons of Jehu*, yet quietly and patiently suffer the Church her self, and Themselves, to Barefac'dly to be impos'd on; do, by that quietness, justly bring upon the whole Church the *Scandal of Principles and Practices*, which both her Canon forbids, and their Consciences abhor.

Where's the *Church of England* Clergy-man, that has either Preach'd up, or in Print bore his Testimony for the Moderation of the Principles of his Mother the Church; but if he has not fallen in with the Heat and
Fire

Fire of his Brother *Sa—rel*, has yet stood still to see the Issue, and look on? Which, in the Eye of the Law, is an Abetting the Fact. And therefore, if I have err'd in charging this Matter upon the whole Church, these Gentlemen ought to blame themselves as Accessaries to the *Scandal*, by their tacit silent Assent to the Practices of their *Hot-headed Brethren*,

Much more might be said to justify my laying the charge of Dishonesty on the whole Church; but it seems needless, since as a Church, she may clear herself when she pleases, by purging her Society from those Members that have abus'd her Character; and 'till she does, 'tis a plain Case she merits the *Scandal*.

The First charge against the *Church of England's Honesty*, respects the *Act of Toleration*.

The present Settlement both of Church and State stands upon the Foot of the Late Revolution: This I think I need not spend Time to prove.

If the Church of *England* Men will claim a single Right to the Honour of the Revolution, that they Abstracted from, and without any Assistance or Concurrence of the Dissenters, invited in the late King, set him upon the Throne, maintain'd him there, and the like; and as a meer Act of undeserv'd Bounty, bestow'd upon the Dissenters a *Toleration of their Worship*; because, during the War, they were not willing to be made uneasy: If the Dissenters had no Hand in the Work, no Interest in the Prince of *Orange*, no Freeholds to Vote for Members of the Parliament or Convention, no Money to contribute to the Publick Charge, no Trades to imploy the Poor, and no Interest in the Government of those Times; Then, indeed, the *Toleration* was an Act of meer Charity, a Gift of Church-bounty, and, in Gratitude to the Giver, ought to be surrender'd again by the Dissenters at demand, like a Thing borrow'd, with Humble Thanks for having had the *Use* of it so long.

But

But if the Dissenters had a hand in all these Transactions; if the very Persons who Treated with the Prince of Orange, capitulated with him for such and such Articles, relating to Liberty of Conscience; if the Church of England Men, to engage the Dissenters to concur heartily in the Work, not only consented, but promis'd to come to a Temper with the Dissenters, and made it a Clause in the *Memorial* given in to that Prince; and if the *Declaration* of that Prince was founded upon such *Postulata*, and Agreements as were before made, to which the very *Primate of the English Clergy* set his Hand in the Name of the whole Church: If the Dissenters did afterwards unanimously fall in with the Church-men, to the effecting the late Revolution, and both depended upon the *Declaration* of that Prince, as the Foundation of all their Proceedings. If these Things be true, as they are too plain to be denied, then, Gentlemen of the Church of England, we are not so much your Debtors for the *Act of Toleration* as you pretend to: 'Twas not a meer Act of your Charity given us for God's sake; 'twas not a Condescension, but a Concession of Right, a solemn Ratification of a former Agreement, and only a passing that into a Law, which you had covenanted before to have pass'd into a Law, of which Covenant the Prince of Orange was Guarrantee: 'Twas an Act of Honesty, not an Act of Charity; 'twas paying a Debt, not making a Loan. We are bound indeed to own your Justice in it, but not at all to thank your Bounty, till you can make it out, that either it was not our Due, or that we have Forfeited it to the Laws.

What then will these Gentlemen say for *their Honesty*, who would have that taken from the Dissenters which was their own of Right, which they bought with their Money, and were ready to ha' done with their Blood; which they did enough for to Merit, and have never since done any thing to Forfeit; which they Capitulated for with the Prince, and which the Parliament thought fit to Confirm, and to turn into a Law.

I have the just Satyr on the Modesty and Good Manners of those Clergy-Men, who have both Preach'd and Printed against the Morality of what the Parliament thought reasonable to pass into a Law, and the Queen has thought fit to give her Word to continue.

The scandalous Terms they have been pleas'd to bestow upon the Act of *Toleration*, have been just for many Satyrs upon the Queen's promise to Maintain it; And the same Breath that has shewn their Want of Charity to the Act of *Toleration*, has shewn their want of Manners to their Sovereign.

This the famous Mr. Sa—rel calls, *Complimenting* People into our Church and Government, who are sworn Enemies to Both; and at no less an Expence, than the hazarding our Eternal Safety and Preservation, our Ancient Faith, Constitution, and Form of Worship. *Political Union*, Page 59. If the Reverend Author would have us think he means any thing but a Reproaching the Government with Tolrating the Dissenters, and the Queen with promising to continue it, let him further Explain it: For, as it stands, 'tis too plain to bear any other Comment.

When he tells us, *Every Man that wishes the Welfare of the Church, ought to hang out a Bloody Flag, and Banner of Defiance against the Dissenters, as open and avow'd Enemies to its Communion*, Page 59. What can any Man suppose he means, but the Shortest Way? What's the difference between Mr. Sa—rel's Bloody Flag, and a Fox's Gallows and Gallies? Only, that one is an Oxford Modern Dialect, and the other put into downright plain English: One is a Church Phrase, and the other a City Comment.

Now, pray, Gentlemen, where's the Incendiary at this while? Who is the *Honest Party*? How can the Church answer this Language to the Great Judge of the World, who Commanded, that our Moderation should be known unto All?

'Tis most plain, That the Act of *Toleration* is a just Debt to the Capitulations of the late Revolution, due to the present Settlement and Peace of the Nation, claim'd of Right by the Dissenters, as the Conditions upon which they Embark'd in the Common Cause of *Liberty* with the *church*, when both were Invaded in the former Reigns : And as the Queen's Majesty, and the Government, have thought fit to confirm this Truth, by adding the Royal Word to the Sanction of the Law ; tho' it does not make it more a Law, yet 'tis an abundant Satisfaction to us, that Her Majesty is so fully convinc'd of its being the proper Right of her Subjects to Enjoy the Freedom of their Consciences, that she has taken all Opportunities to Assure them She will Preserve them in that Right.

Now, as this *Toleration* stands upon the Foundation of an Act of Parliament, and that Act of Parliament was the effect of the Agreement between the Church and the Dissenters, in their Memorial to the Prince of *Orange*, and produc'd as an Effect of his *Declaration* ; It remains to enter a little into the History of the late Revolution, and examine how it came to be Express'd, either in the first Memorial to the Prince, or afterward in his Declaration.

The Depredations made upon the People's Liberties in the Reign of the late King *James*, were carried on with more Assurance than Ordinary, upon two Dependencies, which the King's Party had flatter'd themselves into : Both which fail'd them, and the Consequence was their Ruine.

First, They had Cajol'd the Dissenters into an Acceptance of Liberty of Conscience, by the Dispensing Power of the King, without an Act of Parliament.

Secondly, They depended upon the Church-Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*, which had been push'd on to such a Height, and made so much the

Distinguishing Mark of the Church, that the Clergy had interwoven it with her Essentials, and boasted of it in an Innumerable croud of Sermons and Pamphlets. This the Government thought had prepar'd the Church for all manner of Submissions.

Both these Pillars of Smoak vanishing, the Precipice of Destruction appear'd so near, that the King saw it Unavoidable, and therefore thought fit to take Sanctuary Abroad.

The Dissenters, tho' at first deceiv'd by the Blessing of *Liberty*, soon began to see they were upon a wrong Bottom, and began first to hesitate at the taking off the *Penal Laws*; not but that they would gladly have had them remov'd from themselves, but they were loth to lay open the Field to the *Papists*, against whom those Laws were made.

The Church, who by this time began to feel the Weight of the King's Hand, had been Dispossest'd of *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*, and saw an Ecclesiastical Commision erected, to which all the Clergy in the Nation were like to submit, their Glebes and Perquisites all in danger. At this they all took Fire; away fled the Chimerick Notion of *Passive Obedience*. Natural Right began to take place, and their Eyes to be open'd to their own Safety.

But least the Dissenters, who enjoy'd their Liberty under King *James*, and had never, or but very little, enjoy'd it from the Church, should refuse to Join with them; and least they should close with the King, and his Roman Catholick Friends, from whom they were sure of Liberty of Conscience; they attack them two Ways:

First, To possess them with a Belief, that the Liberty given them by King *James* was a *Trojan Horse*, a Snare to draw them in; and that the design was first to destroy the Church, and with *Polyphemus's* courtesie, reserve them to the last.

The Second Artifice was to tell them, That if they would open their Eyes, and shake Hands with their Protestant Brethren, they would unanimously join to Suppress *Popery*; and they should be assured of the same Liberty of Conscience from their Protestant Brethren, and with an Honester Design.

And 'tis here to be noted, That as now, in their Prosperity, their Pulpits are sounding with nothing but *Cruisado's* and *Bloody Flags* against the Dissenters; so then we were always wheel'd with Charity and Tenderness for one another: Generous Principles forgetting and forgiving former Grudges, laying aside Ancient Quarrels, and the like.

The Dissenters, willing to embrace any Opportunity to weaken the Power of *Popery*, and more willing to enjoy even their *Liberty*, on a Treaty with their Friends, than as the Gift of their Enemies, fall in with the Church-men upon their own Terms; and Unanimously concur in the *Memorial* presented to the Prince of *Orange*, Inviting him to come and Rescue them from *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*. In this *Memorial*, 'tis particularly and expressly stipulated, That a due Liberty of Conscience be granted to Protestant Dissenters: And accordingly the Prince of *Orange*, at his coming over, Engages to settle this Liberty by Parliament; and on the Success of the Affair, and his coming to the Crown, he very honestly Perform'd it.

The Article of the *Declaration* runs in these Words :

' *This Our Expedition is intended for no other Design,
' but—— And that so the Two Houses may Concur in
' the preparing such Laws as may Establish a good Agree-
' ment between the Church of England, and all Prote-
' stant Dissenters; as also for the Covering and Securing of
' all such who live Peaceably under the Government, as be-*
X 2 *comes*

' comes good Subjects, from all Persecution upon the Account of their Religion.

The Preamble also of the First *Occasional Bill*, tho' for private Reasons left out in the Second, Confirms the Divinity of the Thing:

' *Whereas Persecution of Tender Consciences is contrary to the Principles of the Christian Religion, and the Doctrine of the Church of England, &c.*

If then this *Toleration* be a League with the Dissenters; if it be the Contract between them and the Church of *England*; if it be the effect of a formal Treaty, and executed as a Branch of the late King *William's* Declaration; it ought to be kept Sacred. The Church-men can never break it without the blackest Mark of *Dishonesty* in the World; and as Intentional Guilt, in the Eyes of the Scripture, is the same with Actual, all those People who would willingly break such a League, are as Guilty of the Act, as if it were brought to pass.

Such are Knaves in the most Intense Degrees of Knavery. Never let such brand the *French King* with Breach of Honour, Disregard to his Word, with Infractions of Leagues and Treaties: For as no Treaty can be plainer than this, so no People ever did less to Forfeit the thing they enjoy'd.

Where then can the Church find room for her *Honesty*, while she shews her self desirous to break down the Contract and Capitulations of so famous a Treaty, and to Rob the Dissenters of their Native as well as Purchased Right.

Besides, there are unhappy Circumstances in this Case, which very much aggravate the *Dishonesty* of it: As, First, The Dissenters were sure of their Liberty under King *James*; they had not only the security of his Word, but it was really his Interest to continue it to them. And in the Sense of this, the Church-

Party

Party cajoles and wheedles them to quit the Faith of the King, though back'd with his own Interest, and to join with them, on the Promise of making an equal or a more large Concession of *Liberty*, and to confirm it by Law. Now, to bring them off from a Privilege they were sure of, and to bring them to Join with what they were not sure of, any farther than by the Word of the Party, to execute the Conditions of the Bargain or League; and after this, without any Provocation, or any thing done to Forfeit the Privilege, to attempt to take it away again: This is the *Vilest*, the *most Dishonest*, *Unjust*, *Knarvish* Thing can possibly be! And no Church in the World can be Guilty of a worse. They who can do this, ought never to make any further Pretence to *Honesty*, or to *Principle*; nor never to blame their Neighbours with Breach of Faith.

No wonder Men of so little Honesty as this, can Preach up a Doctrine to Day, and Preach it down to Morrow. No wonder such Men can be for *Passive Obedience* one day, and *Abjure their Prince* the next. I am free to say, That the Premises consider'd, and no Man can prove them Untrue, there is not a Man in the Church of *England*, who can so much as wish the *Toleration* to be Repeal'd, but ought to blush at his own *Knavery*, and make no more Pretences to the Title of an *Honest Man*.

The Second Article of the Church's *Honesty* respects the Matter of their Reproaching the Dissenters about *Schism*, *Separation*, *Occasional Communion*, and the like.

In this, 'tis plain to me, they act a Part, a meer Farce, and only carry on the *the Politick Jest*, for the Interest of the Party; to run down the Dissenters with a Full Cry, for being Dissenters, and yet, at the same time, would not have them Conform

I think a few Arguments may suffice to prove, that this Exalted Church, this High-flying Party, *as they are fond of being call'd*, cannot be chargeable with any Symptoms of a desire to Convert the Dissenters, to bring them over, or draw them to the Church. My Reasons are these:

First, They either Industriously avoid, or very Weakly manage all Argument, Conference, or Dispute; in order either to Defend the Causes in Controversie, or Convince the Gain-saying Dissenter. But all the Essays of this Nature, which the World has lately seen, amount to nothing but Raillery and *Billingsgate*, and that without Reason or Justice; Charging all the Crimes of the Ages past, to the Account of the Present Dissenters, and Loading them with the Iniquity of their Fore-fathers, as if 'twas a Crime to be born of a Soldier, because that Soldier fought against the King: Not considering, that the Sons of those Soldiers, who then fought for their King, have since that fought against the Son of that King, and Treated him *as bad* if not *worse* than they did his Father.

This is the *Disbonestest* Thing in the World; and I wonder with what Face, and how free from Blushes, Dr. S—— could in a Railing Sermon say, “the Dissenters were not fit to be suffer'd in Church or State, because they were the Spawn of Rebels, and a Vicious Brood of King-killers and Commonwealth-men; when the Doctor's own Father was both a Round-head in the Army, and an Independant in the Pulpit

It 'tis a Crime in the Dissenters, that their Fathers were Rebels; why then, Gentlemen, all those *Sons of Rebels*, who degenerating from their Fathers have since come into your Church, ought to be turn'd out again, and cast off as *the Spawn of King-killers and Commonwealth men*: For their own Merit cannot alter the Taint of Blood, which is charg'd upon them from their Fathers. And

And if we deserve to be thus treated, because our Fathers took up Arms against their King; of *how much Sorer Punishment should they be thought worthy*, whose Fathers, being Men of Loyalty and Zeal, Died Fighting for their King, and Defending him against his People? And these their Degenerate Children, have follow'd the very Steps of our Rebellious Ancestors; and, in Spite of the Loyal Blood, which 'twas hop'd might be Infus'd into their Veins by Generation, have taken up Arms against their Lawful Sovereign, and Abjur'd his Posterity.

Not that I am of the Opinion what was done was Unlawful in it self, because the Invasion of Right, Law, and Liberty, by the Unhappy Councils of the late betray'd King went before: But where was the *Honesty of the Church of England*? Either 'twas a business that can never be Justify'd, to Reproach Dissenters with it, or a double Crime in them to put it in Practise themselves.

Where now is your Honesty, Gentlemen? The World would be glad to see you defend it in this Article: And if you can't, 'tis hop'd, since we are no more Rebels than your selves, you will forbear giving us any farther Occasion to Recriminate.

As now the Church has left off Argument, and fallen to Raillery, how can any Man say they desire the Conversion of the Dissenters? And if they neither Endeavour nor Desire the Conversion of the Dissenters, how can they Reproach them with their Dissent, and blame them for what they neither wish nor desire them to alter? Where's the Honesty of Reproaching a Dissenter with making a Breach in the Church, and yet neither Wishing, nor Endeavouring, nor, indeed, being Willing, he should return, and make it up?

Secondly, Your not desiring the Return of the Dissenters to the Church, appears in the Publick Aversion you have declar'd on all Occasions to the Men of Temper and Moderation, who are in the Church already:

These are represented to be worse than Phanatics, Secret Enemies Nurs'd in the Bowels of their Mother which they betray, Dissenters in Masquerade. Now 'tis plain you cannot desire the Dissenters should all Conform to the Church, unless you are all beside your Selves, and have, together with your *Honesty*, lost your *Understanding*, unless you have forgot your own Names, are fitter for *Bedlam* than the Pulpit, and to be taken from the Altar, and sent to an Hospital. For,

1. If all the Dissenters in *England* should, by some special and miraculous Work of Providence, Conform to the Church, and all this *Schism*, as you call it, should cease at once; I would be glad to have an Answer from any, or all the Divines of our *Church Rampart*, What sort of *Church-men* would they be? Would they Join with you, *the Men of the Steeple*, or with the *Moderate Party*? In short, Would they be *High Church-men*, or *Low Church-men*?

I believe all Men will answer Negatively, *Not of the last*? If so, then let any Man but Examine your *Character of a Low Church-man*, the general Opinion all your Party has, of what we call a *Moderate Church-man*, and judge whether you would be one for the better pleas'd with them. 'Twould be endless to name the Numerous Authors, the Pamphlets, the Sermons, the Discourses of the present Ruling Party of the Church of *England*; and to set down the Reasons given to prove these *Low Moderate Church-men* to be worse than *Presbyterians*, to be Traitors to their Friends, Betrayers of the Church, and Enemies to her Peace.

No Man then can believe the *Church-men* so mad as to wish to have Us Conform, and so become worse Enemies to them than we were before. 'Tis plain, they covet not our Conversion as Christians, our Conforming as Members of the Church, unless we would Conform too, as Members of a Party. A politick Conversion they might possibly wish for; expecting, that as

a Renegado is a worse Patron than a Turk; so if we espous'd their Quarrel as a Party, they might the easier run down the *Moderate Church-men*. But as to a Religious Conversion, it is impossible they should desire it, without concurring in the destruction of themselves, as a Party, and consequently be forsaken of their Senses.

2. If all the Dissenters in *England* should Conform to the Church, and as 'tis most certain they would in such a Case Join with the *Moderate Church Party*, the *High Church-Party* would be immediately suppress'd, blown up, and dispers'd; the *Ministers of the Church* would have no more room to call upon us in the Language of *Honest Jechu*, and say, *Come see our Zeal for the Lord*: Sa——ell's Bloody Flag and Banner of Defiance would be taken down; Peace, Charity, and Christian Moderation, Things which these Gentlemen fear and hate, would flourish and spread through the whole Nation.

'Tis impossible the present Church of *England*, *Distinguish'd as before*, can without Suspicion of Lunacy, wish or desire the Annexing all the Dissenters to the Church; for it would certainly be their Ruine.

What then is the Meaning of all this Clamour at the Dissenters? What is to be done with us, Gentlemen, if we must neither Conform nor Dissent, and your *Bloody Flag and Banner of Defiance* is spread against us? What is to be done? Truly, there is nothing we can see before us but *the Shortest Way*. Alas, *Poor De Foe*! what hast thou been doing, and for what hast thou suffer'd? When all things are Examin'd, either these Gentlemen are guilty of the *Vilest Dishonesty*, are all *Cheats and Hypocrites*, or else *the Shortest Way* is at the Bottom, and Mr. *De Foe* has done them no Wrong; and if he has done them none, some body has done him a great deal.

But

But how will our Church of *England* come off with the Honesty of these Proceedings? How will they defend their Morals, to fix their Arguments of *Schism* upon a Party of Men they would not have comply?

And why is this Great Out-cry rais'd against the Dissenters for their *Occasional Communion*? 'Tis indeed a most evident Proof of what has been said. These Gentlemen are Exasperated at it, as it lets the Dissenters into the Publick Exercise of the Government, and joins them to the *Low Church-men*; and what a late Reverend Clergy-man, and no less a State-sman, said of this Case: 'The Sacramental Test was not Contriv'd in order to Rejoin the Whigs to the Church, but to keep them out of the State; like the Gallows, (*a blessed Comparison!*) which was not Erected, in the Sense of the Law, to Hang Men, but really to keep them from being Hang'd.

'Tis a Thing needs no Demonstration: The Laws against the Dissenters were not properly made Laws against them, but against the Roman Catholics. They who found it convenient to turn the Edge of them their way, did not do it with a supposed Prospect, that those Laws would bring the Dissenters to the Church; but in Hopes, that they, being resolved not to comply, would be thereby kept out of the State.

That this is a known Truth, I appeal to a known Speech of the late Famous Member of Parliament for the City of *London*, who most vigorously oppos'd this Sacramental Test: *For what, says he, is this Test made? To Convert us you cannot pretend, the Papists are the Pretence: But that is Expos'd, by refusing to Confine it to such; and if it be against the Dissenters, 'tis to Exclude them from their Birth-right, and Rob the Government of their Service.*

Now that the Dissenters, by complying with this Test, have both defeated the End and Design of it, and also discover'd it, is plain from the Exceeding Clamour rais'd at them about it: For to what End do the Gentlemen

men of the Church of *England* clamour at our *Occasional Conformity*? They cannot allow, 'tis unlawful for us to conform, that would be to condemn themselves; as to our Dissenting again, that can be of no damage to them: But the Business is, by thus conforming to the Communion of the Church, the Trick of this State Ceremony is defeated, the Trap is discover'd, the Snare is broken, and the Bird is escaped; the Dissenter lets himself into publick Employments, in the Cities and Corporations where he lives, from which they had Hopes, his Scruple of Conformity would have kept him out.

Upon the Discovery, the Church clamours and cries out *Hypocrites! Pretenders to Religion! For God, or for Baal*, and the like. No, Gentlemen, 'tis you are the Hypocrites, who make a Law with a Face of Religion; a Law which in its own Nature enjoins us to conform to the Church on such and such Occasions: And now you see we are willing to do it, cry out upon us for doing it. Is this your *Honesty*? If we Dissent, we are *Schismaticks*; if we conform, we are *Hypocrites*: Is this your *Sincerity*?

Let me say, Gentlemen, whether those who Occasionally conform are Hypocrites or no, is a dispute by itself; but you cannot but own your selves to be Hypocrites to the last Degree, who having made a Law, pretending to bring us to the Church, plainly now discover, 'twas only a *Flam*, to keep us out of the Service of our Country, on a Supposition that we would not comply.

If this be the *Church of England's Honesty*, for shame, Gentlemen, never charge the *Dissenters* with *Hypocrisie in Occasional Conformity*, 'till you reform this *shameful Defection* from your own *Integrity*, and only testify your *Repentance* before God, and the World. And to me nothing seems plainer than the Dishonesty and unfair Dealings of those Gentlemen, who rail at the *Dissenters* for *Occasional Conformity*.

Sir H— M— in the Name of all the rest of our Church Authors, tell us, It cannot be safe to trust any Part of the publick Administration with Persons who do not conform to the National Church.

I cannot but wonder with what Face that Gentleman, who is a Member of Parliament, and an English Representative, could impose that upon the World, when he himself, and with him most of those furious Gentlemen, thought it safe to venture our whole Administration in the Hands of a Popish King.

Had those Gentlemen been honest, and us'd but the same Arguments with themselves they now use with us, they had never been against the Bill of Exclusion, which if they had pass'd, all this Revolution, this bloody and expensive War, and a thousand worse Mischiefs, had been prevented.

All the Blood of *Essex, Russel, Sidney*, and a Multitude more had been sav'd; and I wonder no Body ever put them in Mind of this before.

But *what shall we now do for our Sister in the Day when she shall be spoken for?* What shall we say for, and in behalf of, the Thousands of those honest Gentlemen, the Multitudes of *Moderate Christians* in the Church of *England*, whose Candor speaks them to be Gentlemen, and whose Charity speaks them to be Christians; who neither Envy, Despise, or Persecute their Dissenting Brethren, but receive them with Kindness, and judge them with Charity? This Charge must not, it cannot concern them.

These are the Genuine Church of England; These are the Foundation of her Character, and the Pillars of her very Being in these Nations, and are only blameable for the Easiness and Calmness with which they bear the Insolence of their Hair-brain'd Clergy. These are they who, however the Priests may fancy to impose upon them with Flourishes and Fictions when it comes to the Point, will hold fast both their Religion, and their Property, their Religious, and their civil Liberties;

es ; and suffer neither the Clergy to destroy one, nor their Kings to devour the other.

To these the Dissenters willingly give the Right-hand, and had rather the Government were in their Hands, than in their own. If we were to choose a King to govern us, all Parties would Vote for one of their Number.

These Gentlemen are the Nation's Security against Popery, Slavery, and all sorts of Tyranny, whether Ecclesiastick or Temporal: Of *These*, no part of this Book is to be understood ; they are no Branch of the Family of the *Furioso's*, no kin to the *Sons of Nimshi*.

These are they who, when the hot Men, for want of Discretion at any time, put Governments into Confusion, and bring the Nation about their Ears, are fain to set all to rights again. *To These* we have all recourse in Time of Exigence ; and *These alone* are the safety of all Governments in the World.

No wonder the High Church-men fly out at these Moderate Men ; for Temper, Prudence and Moderation, are fatal to their Designs, and at last will most certainly ruin them ; and the sense of this Truth, makes them hate a *Moderate Conformist* worse than a *Dissenter*.

How soon might we be all One Nation, One People ; and if not all of One Mind in Religion, be united in Affection, in Interest, and in Government ; were the Spirit of *Moderation*, *Charity* and *Peace* in the Chair of the *Church*.

So far as the Authors of the present Discord widen the Breaches between the *Church*, and her *Dissenting Brethren*, so far they Embroil the Nation, Disturb the Peace, Encourage the Enemy, Dethrone the Queen, and Expose Religion.

But Blessed be God ! Every step they take, they lessen themselves ; they cannot set a Foot forward in this fatal Work, but *it treads upon their Honesty* : Their Morals *sink*, as their Malice *rises* ; and while they throw Dirt at their Brethren, the *Dissenters*, it flies
back

back in their *own Faces*, and reproaches them with the *Hypocrisie* they charge upon their Neighbours.

This Temper must be laid aside, if they will ever bring to pass the blessed Peace, Union and Harmony, which Her Majesty, and the late Glorious King *William*, has always prest us to.

How many Speeches has the Queen made, to Excite us all to Union and Love! And how little does all the Methods of this Party tend to it! What does Her Majesty mean by Peace and Union, *but Peace and Union*? The Words are not Equivocal, but *Univocal*: The Queen's Meaning, certainly gives the Lye to *Sacheverell's Oxford Sermons*, and let the World know, that Her Majesty can wish well to the *Church*, and yet not hang out the *Bloody Flag of Defiance* against the *Dissenters*.

No Man can say, that the People we have been talking of are Friends to this Peace and Union; nor can it ever be obtain'd, while *Men of Moderation* are branded with *Principles of Fanaticism*, and *Betrayers of the Church*.

When all is done, 'tis the Men of Moderation which are the Church of *England*, the Other are but *Wolves in Sheeps Cloathing*; they are but a Party of those who, *having turn'd the World upside-down, are come hither also, Acts 11.* 'Tis the Men of Temper and Charity are the *Church*; and to convince the World, that when such have the Reigns of Government in their Hands, the *Dissenters* are always Quiet and Content. Let them tell us, for the last 60 Years, whenever the *Dissenters* disturb'd a Government that proceeded upon Legal and Moderate Principles; whenever they desir'd any thing Destructive to Government and Law; or whenever they discovered any Dillike, that the Power of Government should not be in the Church of *England*; or that they were Enemies to Monarchy.

If they will go back to 48, and provoke us to Recriminate, by telling us of *Killing the Father*; let us bring them back to 88, and tell them of *Deposing the Son*, and sending him Abroad to beg his Bread, fighting against him at the *Boyne, &c.* Here's *Rowland*, there's *Oliver*: Let them come off of it if they can. The better way is to drop the Discourse of Both, and keep both their *Loyalty*, and their *Temper* within its Bounds; and forgetting Things past, join Hands in Obeying, Serving and Submitting to the present Power; where nothing is Imposed, nothing Extorted; but the Laws direct the Sovereign, and protect the Subject, being left by Both to their Free Course. *Long may it so continue*; and so long all wise Men, and all honest Men will be both Obedient and Satisfied, and longer they cannot.

And if the Peace and Union which the Queen has so graciously call'd upon the Nation to Practise, be not obtain'd; these are the Men that Obstruct it, as contrary to their Designs, and the constant Practise of their Lives.

A
SERIOUS INQUIRY
Into this
GRAND QUESTION;
Whether a
L A W
To prevent the
Occasional Conformity
OF
DISSENTERS,

Would not be Inconsistent with the Act of *Tolerance*, and a Breach of the *Queen's Promise*.

THese Sheets having been wrote during the late Agitation between the two Houses, relating to a Law against Occasional Conformity ; upon the demise of that Law, had been buried in the Grave with it, had not the restless endeavours, both of the Press and the Pulpit, been set on foot to revive it;

The

The end of this Paper is not so much in hopes to reclaim a Party, whose Malice is a constant Spurr to their Heads against Dissenters ; as to let the Ignorant, and Well-meaning among them, if any such are to be found, see a little what they are a doing.

As for the Dissenters, tho' perhaps they have not Power to prevent the Mischief, 'tis convenient to let the World know, upon what Foot their Enemies Act ; and that tho' they may have the Misfortune to feel the Consequences, they may not pass for Fools too ; but as their Enemies trample upon the Honour and Character of their Sovereign, they may let them see they know it.

A Worthy Author of a Penny-sheet, spread about very industriously, and Entitled, *Reasons for this Law*, would prove it ought to Pass, because of Her Majesty's Promises of Maintaining the Church, and Encouraging such as were most Zealous for Her Interest.

This I take to be a design of making Her Majesty's Promises clash one against another, which they may come off from, if they can.

It seems, That these Gentlemen mistook Her Majesty's Meaning, in the Promise she made of *Encouraging the most Zealous Men of the Church of England* ; by supposing Her Majesty meant thereby, such whose Zeal run highest against the Dissenters : Whereas Her Majesty, by declaring Her self since, the great Promoter of Peace and Union among Her Subjects, and by Repeating to the Dissenters Her Resolution of Maintaining the Toleration, has told them plainly what she meant.

It looks a little strange, That the Gentlemen, who are so hot for this Law, should think the Dissenters so blind, as not to see the Toleration struck at, in its most Essential Parts ; and, as if they would hoodwink them with the Vapour of the *Enigma*, all the Pamphlets and Sermons at the same time, that they would stigmatize Occasional Conformity, as the Badge of a Hypocrite ; joyn this shadow for a Covering, *Let them en-*

joy their Toleration on God's Name, and No-body meddles with Toleration, New Association. p. —. Now if these Gentlemen will tell us, how a Law against Occasional Conformity can be pass'd, and yet the Toleration Maintain'd entire, then I shall give up the Cause.

The best Argument that has been yet brought, to prove the Reasonableness of a Law against Occasional Conformity, is, *That the Dissenters have made use of it to qualifie themselves for Publick Employments.*

That the Dissenters think Occasional Communion Lawful in it self, has been publicly declar'd, and whether *it be or not*, does not seem any part of the Dispute.

But the declar'd Design and Intention of those who contend for an Occasional Bill, *as we call it*, is more Effectually to keep the Dissenters out of Offices, and Publick Employments in the State.

Whether either of these be Lawful, whether a Dissenter Occasionally may Conform to the Church of *England*; Or whether it be just, that a Dissenter, as such, ought to be Excluded from the Publick Trust, and made incapable of Serving the Government, tho' they are great Points, and well worth Consideration, are yet no part of the Question in debate.

But whether it be reasonable, that the Dissenters *shou'd either way be forc'd*, be Excluded from Communion with the Church, or with their Private Congregations, under the Penalty of avoiding all Publick Employments, being rendred incapable to Serve the Government, and of the Advantage of their Fellow *Englishmen*, in the Service of their Native Country; This is the Case before us.

If any Man is to scruple the Lawfulness of Conformity to the Church, it is the Dissenter, and not the Church-man; the Conformist cannot pretend 'tis Unlawful to Conform, he would then become a Dissenter himself. But if the Dissenter not Agreeing in all things, can yet Conform in some, why should he be obliged, as by such a Law he would be, either to Conform wholly, or not Conform at all, and this under a severe Penalty?

It may be answer'd, the Test was made to keep the Whiggs out of Place, and they Defeat the end of that Law, by taking the Sacrament; and 'tis absolutely necessary, not to Trust them with Employments in the Government, and therefore this Law is absolutely Necessary.

This would be the Natural way of expressing it, if the High Churchmen would speak their Minds heartily; and this may pass for a true Exposition of what they have otherwise express'd, and as it may easily be prov'd to be their end, so it may easily be prov'd.

First, That 'tis an Unjust Design.

Secondly, That 'tis an Unreasonable Method.

I. 'Tis an Unjust design to deprive the Dissenters of publick Employments, and unqualify them for the Service of their Country, without any Offence Committed. The Law supposes every Man a good Man, till something appears to the contrary; now Dissenting from the Communion of the Church of *England*, is no Offence against the Law, but is, by a special Law, *Permitted and made Legal*; no Man therefore can justly be made Un-capable of the Service of his Country, till he is found Guilty of the Breach of some Law.

II. No Law can justly be made to deprive a Man of any Right, for an Action which is not unlawful, either in it self or Circumstances. *Laws made against Right and Justice* are Unjust Laws, Oppressions are Tyrannies upon the People; and tho' we must submit when they are made, because they are made by a Lawful Authority, yet they are not the more Just in their own Nature.

'Tis therefore an unjust Design to deprive us of our Birth-right, as *Englishmen*, for our Disagreement in Matters of Religion; especially while this Disagreement is Legal, and made so by an Act of Parliament.

But after all, if it were to be Granted, which yet no Wise Man will Grant, that it is absolutely Necessary to

the Safety of the Government to keep the Dissenters out of Places, a thing no Man could ever prove—— yet *the Method*, which is Profess'd by those Gentlemen, who are of that Opinion, is very Unreasonable and Unjust; and *this is the Argument I have undertaken to make good.*

I have no design hereby, to say any thing relating to the Bill lately depending in the House; or to the Debates between the Two Houses on that Head; nor shall I concern them in this Discourse any farther, than to Quote Matter of Fact from them; which, I hope, may be done without Offence.

But I have numberless Authors to bring upon the Stage, to prove the thing I alledge, of which this is the Abstract.

That the High Churchmen have, and for many Years have had, a Design, if possible, to procure an Act of Parliament, to prevent the Dissenters from Holding, Possessing, or Enjoying Places, Offices, or Employments in the Government, by obliging them to a Strict, Total and Absolute Conformity to the Church of England.

Now, tho' Occasional Communion is not hereby Condemn'd or Defended; yet, 'tis plain, that a Law to Oblige the Dissenters to a Total Conformity, or else to suffer such and such Penalties, is unjust and Unreasonable in its own Nature.

I. All Force upon the Conscience is Unchristian and Unreasonable; to compel any one to act against their Consciences, is Unreasonable and Unjust; because the Scripture says 'tis most reasonable to obey God rather than Man; I think 'tis a Matter so long ago decided, even by the Church of England it self, *That the Laws of Man have no Sovereignty over the Conscience*, that it would be a needless Vanity in me, to mention any thing of it; and the Martyrs in Queen Mary's Reign, are my Precedents to back the Argument.

If then 'tis Unlawful to compel me against my Conscience to comply, 'tis Unlawful to Punish me for not complying; for it cannot be lawful to Punish me for refusing what you have no Power to Command me to do.

The

The Act of Parliament which oblig'd the Dissenters to qualify themselves, by taking the Sacrament, must imply, that it was lawful for them to take it, or else it had been an Unlawful Act in its own Nature ; for a Law Commanding a Sin, is a Contradiction in its self, and no Law, but a Libel ; but say some, when we made this Act, 'twas believ'd the Dissenters would not have complied with it, and so have been kept out.

Very good ; So that 'twas a Trick put upon them, presuming upon their scrupulous Consciences ; this may be true, but 'twas never the honestest in the design ; and this is the occasion of the New Method now in Hand, and is a farther Proof of the Matter alledg'd, that 'tis not Conformity, or Non-Conformity ; 'tis not constant or Occasional Conformity is the Question, but the keeping the Dissenters out of Offices, *that they may get in* : 'Tis Supplanting their Neighbours, and Incapacitating their Brethren ; This is the Matter in hand.

Total Conformity then being a Sin, in the Opinion of a Dissenter, to compel him to it, is forcing him to Sin, which is directly against the Scripture.

But, says the Objector, This is not compelling them, for they may let Places and Preferments alone, and then they may let Conformity alone, and Welcome.

This is a Christian-like Argument, indeed, and makes it plain, that 'tis neither the Advantage of the Church which is sought, nor the Good of the Dissenter ; nor the Advantage of the Church, by bringing over Protestants to her Communion ; nor the Good of the Dissenters, by bringing them off from their Mistakes ; but 'tis the Profits, the Honours, the Employments in the State, which are the things ;

*And all the Strife is plainly to be seen,
To get some Men put out, and some put in.*

And this is the handle to the second Head.

II. *That 'tis downright Persecution.* To Punish on Account of Conscience, is Persecuting in the most Intense degree.

Shall they tell us we are not compell'd to Conform; and that here is no force put on the Conscience, but Punish us if we do not? Incapacitate us for the Service of our Queen and Contry; shut us out from a share in the Favours of our Prince, and in the Rights and Privileges of *English Men*? This is Punishment for Non-conformity; Punishment for Conscience sake, is Persecution for Conscience sake; and it is allow'd without contradiction, by all the Protestant Churches in *Europe*, that Persecution for Conscience sake, is Unchristian, and consequently Unreasonable and Unjust.

The *Wisdom* which is from *on high*, in some Translations call'd the Spirit of God, is described in Scripture to be first, *Pure*, then *Peaceable*, *Gentle*, and *easy* to be *entreated*; by the Spirit of God here, Commentators agree, is meant, not the Holy Ghost, frequently in Scripture, call'd the Spirit of God, or God the Spirit; but the Christian Temper, wrought by the Spirit of God; and if this Temper be of the Spirit, a Temper of Cruelty, Force and Persecution, must not be of the same Spirit, and consequently Unjust and Unreasonable.

III. *This is an Infraction upon the Act of Toleration, and therefore an Unreasonable Law; that Act being founded upon the highest Reason in the World.*

The Reasonableness of the Act of Toleration, is founded upon two Principal Articles.

I. Its being every Man's Native Right to enjoy the Benefit and Liberty of serving God, his Maker, in that Way or Method, which in his Conscience he believes to be most agreeable to his reveal'd Will, and which he also finds to be most Beneficial to himself.

It has been a controverted Point, whether it be Lawful to compel any Man to be a Christian, or to serve God at all; I think 'tis needless to be concern'd in this Dispute; for he who suffers, because he will have no Religion at all, cannot be persecuted for his Religion, but his Atheism and Irreligion.

But

But that in Matters relating to the manner of Worship, and the different ways of serving the same God; St. Peter has left a Memorable, and most Decisive Precedent in *Acts* 5. 29. when they charg'd them, that they should Preach no more in that Name, that was, the Name of Christ; they so much the more Proclaim'd the Gospel in all the parts of *Judea*.

'Tis remarkable in this place, who it was charged them; 'twas the Elders, the High Priests, and the Rulers of the *Jews*; the Great *Sanhedrim*: 'Twas a Vote of their Parliament, and their Answer was in short, "*'Tis a shame you should pretend to countermand what God has Com-manded; no Human Power can pretend to be Obey'd in such a Case: We desire you to put it to the Vote in plain words, whether we shall Obey God or You.*"

On this Account the Act of Toleration is founded upon the most reasonable consideration in the World; 'tis a concession of Natural Right; 'tis an Acknowledgement that we ought to obey the Dictates of Conscience, rather than an Act of Parliament; 'tis a Law made, that we may obey God rather than Man, as it was our Native as well as Christian Right to do before; 'tis in short only an Act of Justice, not an Act of Grace; 'tis an Act, by which the Church of *England* is clear'd from being of a persecuting Spirit, which they were but too Guilty of before.

2. The Reasonableness of this Act of Toleration appears, as it is a purchase of the Dissenters, and consequently their own, their due; 'tis a debt to the Capitulations, made in the Name of the whole People of *England*, with the Prince of *Orange*, which has been sufficiently prov'd in another place.

The Act of Toleration being then an Act of the highest Justice to the Dissenters, and built on Foundations of *Reason and Right*; any Subsequent Law made in Prejudice of the Liberty, Granted by the Toleration, is highly Unjust and Unreasonable.

It remains to this Head, That a Law against Occasional Conformity, be prov'd to be an Infraction of the Toleration.

The Act of Toleration is a Liberty given by Act of Parliament, That all such, whose Consciences will not permit them to conform to the Church of *England*, may Worship God, according to their several Judgments and Opinions, without Disturbance, and Exempting them from all Penalties and Punishments for the same ; for which we refer them to the Act it self.

Now as there are several kinds of Dissenters, as well as several sorts of Conformists, some Dissent entirely from the Church, and own neither her Doctrine nor Worship ; some can conform to something, some to none at all ; it seems a contradiction to Reason, and reflects upon the Church-Mens Understanding, as well as Honesty, that they should make the Law to Punish those who can conform in part, and let those alone who will not conform at all ; this is far from a Christian Endeavour, to bring the Dissenters home, into the Bosom of the Church, and Unite the Flock under one Shepherd ; for it Encourages those who are the farthest off, to continue where they are, and those who are nearest, and in part brought in, and by Occasional complying, are in a fair way to a total Conformity, *if not in themselves, in their Posterity without fail* ; these are to be punish'd for what they do, and either compelled to conform farther than they can — Commanded not to conform at all, or Punish'd for the middle way, their own Inclinations Dictate to them.

'Tis most certain, the Nature of the thing, even the meaning of the Word Toleration, *viz. a Permission for such as cannot conform*, Implies all sorts of Dissenting ; and if any are to be thought excluded in the meaning of the Act, it must be such as are widest in their Scruples, and at the greatest distance from Conformity, not such as Dissent but in a few small matters, and can conform in the main Points.

But this Law is prepared to Punish such as can conform in part, and encourage them, and all others, to a farther and a total Non-Conformity ; and is therefore expressly contrary to the intent and meaning of the Act of Toleration, and in its self absurd and unreasonable.

As the Act of Toleration is an Exempting the Dissenters from all Penalties and Punishments for Dissenting, this lays a Forfeiture or Penalty on their Dissenting again ; and I know not, for my Life, what to call that, but a repealing part of the Toleration. I wish some wiser Body, would find me out another Name for it.

IV. *'Tis against the general Right of Christians ;* for as the Sovereignty of Conscience hath been sufficiently Asserted, and even the very Act of Toleration acknowledges it to be superior to Law, Independent to all Human Power, and ought not to be either forc'd or restrained, so it can no more be just, to compel me not to conform in part, than it can be to oblige me to a total Conformity.

I call that compelling, forcing, and the like, which however plausible, the pretence of leaving it in my choice, may be, makes a Depriving me of any thing which I Enjoy'd before, and had a Right to Enjoy, the penalty of my pursuing the Dictates of my Conscience: This is forcing me, as far as it is in the Power of any Man to force another, for no Man can force another any farther than by Inflicting a Punishment for not complying ; The Law does not force a Man not to Murder his Neighbour, only tells him he shall be Hang'd if he does : If I am obliged totally to conform, or totally to dissent, when my Conscience directs me to dissent in some things, and to Conform in all things I can, this is as much imposing upon my Conscience, as compelling me to a total Conformity would be ; this is Force, and Force is Persecution, and both are Unjust and Unreasonable.

V. *'Tis against her Majesties Gracious Promises of continuing the Toleration to the Dissenters.* The Royal
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Veracity of the Queen, more than once repeated on this Head, is a satisfaction to the Dissenters, that they shall Enjoy the full Benefit of the Act of Toleration; her Majesty in her late Speeches to the Parliament, has redoubled her Assurances on this Head, and it seems to me, that the Safety of the Dissenters has a greater dependance upon this Head, than upon the Act of Toleration it self.

Acts of Parliament depend upon the Opinions of different Men, whose Breath, like themselves, is Frail and Uncertain; they are frequently chang'd, and frequently change their Opinions; one House often repeals what a former House enacts, they very often alter and disannul what they have enacted themselves; but if forty Houses attempt to alter or disannul the Toleration, so as to Deprive the Dissenters of the benefit of it, we are assur'd her Majesty will never pass such a Law; for she has given us her Royal Promise, that she will continue her Protection of the Dissenters in their Enjoyment of the Toleration Establish'd.

Now for any People to desire to deprive the Dissenters of their Liberty of Conscience, to deprive them of the benefit of the Toleration, or of any part of it, is it not to desire the Queen to break her Word? Is it not to desire Her Majesty to lessen the Liberty given us before? And I wonder those Gentlemen who are so violent for such a thing, do not see, or at least consider, what it is they are driving at.

Can they think that her Majesty can weaken or limit the Toleration, and not see that 'tis an Assault upon the Honour of her Parole; has She not told them that they shall always find her have a Sacred Regard to her Promises? Have they not seen *her Majesty Profess a Spotless Veracity*? Can they find her injuring her own Honour, or her Subjects Confidence in this case? And why should they imagin *so Vilely* of their Sovereign? Does it not seem a want of Manners, as well as a want of their Confidence in the Queen?

It is objected, but this is not an Act against the Toleration, but only Explanatory, to tell the World what was, and was not meant by it ; and it has always been granted that the House of Commons are the proper Expositors of the Law.

In doubtful Cases, 'tis true the House are the Explainers of their own Meaning, but *Toleration* is an *Explicit Term*, wants no Explication of its Meaning, and the Conditions of it are exactly Express'd in the Act of Parliament, its Extent is limited to Protestant Dissenters, only to such, and to all such.

Now the design I am upon, is not an Exposition, but a Limitation ; and to Limit the Extent of the Toleration, is to Repeal part of the Law ; and consequently to Intrench upon her Majesties Promise.

The Queen has not given her Word to the Dissenters, to preserve part of the Toleration, *but the Toleration*, which must be understood of the whole, or else by the same Rule they may obtain the Repeal of all or any the Enacting Clauses in the Bill, and yet pretend the Promises of the Queen remain untouch'd.

This would be making Her Majesty Equivocate with her Subjects, which is below her Thoughts ; and as She has told us, we shall always find her a Religious Observer of her Word ; I cannot Imagine Her Majesty can ever assent to Limit the Toleration, without offering a horrid Affront to the Honour of Her Majesty's Word, and making Her a Deluder of Her Subjects,

Some People have taken upon them to state the Matter of the Queen's Promise, and to distinguish Nicely between an Act of Her Majesties Will, and a Concession to an Act of Parliament ; and tell us from this Head, that Her Majesty will not fail to be as good as Her Word, as far as concerns Her Self, but that if it be done by an Act of Parliament, that is a general thing, is the Act and Deed of the People of *England*, that 'tis their own doing, not Hers ; even the Dissenters themselves do it, for they are properly said to Act
in

in their Representatives. Now, tho' the Queen did promise to maintain the Toleration, yet She did not promise to do it against the Dissenters Will, and if they come and ask Her to do it, She is by that Request absolv'd from Her Promise, and free to Grant what they Desire.

This is a way, by which any Body may distinguish themselves out of their Promises, but an honest Answer puts an End to it,

The Queen's Promise is not Negative, that she will *not take away* the Toleration, but it is positive, that *She will preserve it*, and Protect the Dissenters in the Enjoyment of their Liberty.

As to *the Parliament Desiring* it to be taken away, which is as if the Dissenters did it, their Representatives being in Parliament; I Answer, this is a Sophism in Argument; 'tis true the Dissenters are Represented in Parliament, as *English-Men*, but not as Dissenters; and therefore the case differs, had the Dissenters chosen a Representative of themselves, as Dissenters, and these in the Name of the rest, had come and told Her Majesty, they desired the Toleration should be repealed; I grant in such a case, Her Majesty was clear of Her Promise; but for a Parliament, they Represent the Dissenters in their Civil, but not in their Religious Capacity; this Promise is made to them as Dissenters; *as such*, they are no where represented, and therefore cannot be supposed to Act in a Repeal of such a Law, nor can the Actions of any House disengage Her Majesty from Her Promise.

For if a Subject may not Interpret the Queen's Promise, yet a Subject may say, how he understands it; and when Her Majesty Graciously says, we shall always find Her a Religious observer of Her Word; If I understand, what we are to Believe Her Majesties Meaning to be, it is thus, that *what ever Her Majesty Solemnly Promises to any of Her People, they may Depend upon it, shall be punctually Perform'd*, and that it shall

not

not be in the Power of any Human Act, to make Her forget
or disown it.

I hope this Explication can be no Detriment to the Honour or Veracity of the Queen; since no Body can have the Impudence to say, She has yet done any thing to Infringe this Sacred Assurance, nor can any of Her People, without having scandalous Thoughts of their Sovereign, Imagine She will break Her Word.

How then, can our Church of *England* Brethren, look Her Majesty in the Face, when they are every Day exposing the Toleration, as a thing not fit to be continued?

The telling us, 'That this is Complimenting the Dissenters into our Church and Government, who are a People that are sworn Enemies to both, to the hazarding our Eternal Safety, and giving up our Antient Faith, Constitution, and Form of Worship; *Sacheverel's Sermon, p. 59, 60. and again p. 49.* 'In order to break down the Fence, and Land-Mark of the Church, all its worst Enemies must be Tolerated.

What is this, but branding Toleration, as scandalous in it self, and dangerous to the Church, and consequently the Queen, with doing things which deserve that reproachful Title.

When the same Author has describ'd the Dissenters, in the best *Oxford* Rhetorick he could, he adds, *p. 59. Against whom every Man that wishes the Churches welfare, ought to Hang out the Bloody Flag, and Banner of Defiance.*

To make a short Comment on this worthy Text,

Every Man, or every one, for the Queen is a Masculine in Her Politick Capacity, every one that wishes the Churches Welfare, Ought, &c. Mark,

From hence I draw this Argument.

The Queen has not Hang out the Bloody Flag of Defiance; what then, one of these two Things follows.

I. Either the Queen does not do as she ought to do;
 II. Or the Queen does not wish the Welfare of the Church.

If any Man can make another, or more proper Inference from the Words, he is welcome to do it; for my part I acknowledge I cannot.

If this be the Opinion, this Worthy Gentleman has of her Majesty's Conduct; If the Vice C——r of *Oxford* thinks to License such Language as this to be Printed on the Queen; Never let the Pillory be Erected for an Author, for Affronting her Majesty again. If this be not the *Shortest Way*; If this be not a Method by it self; If ever Queen was thus Bantred before; Let them tell us the Time.

Her Majesty has promised to protect the Dissenters, continue the Toleration, and bids them not be apprehensive of any Danger; but here comes Mr. S—— with a Voucher from a whole University, and says, that if her Majesty wishes well to the Church of *England*, She must not Tolerate them, but hang out the Bloody Flag and Banner of Defiance against them; that is, the Queen, if she wishes well to the Church of *England*, must break her Promise with the Dissenters, and consent to demolish the Toleration-Act; Deprive them of their Liberty, and proceed against them the *Shortest Way*.

In short, according to the best Judgment I can make of this matter, This way of Treating the Dissenters, is the grossest Abuse upon the Queen, as can possible be put upon her; and they must suppose her Majesty to be something, that I have more Manners than to mention, if She does not take some more than ordinary Notice of it——.

I think, I may Challenge them all to shew one Instance, when ever the Dissenters, *those Spawn of Rebels, and Vermin not fit to Live*, as the Worthy Dr. H—— calls them; when ever they offered any such Affront to her Majesty.

But these Gentlemen, presuming upon her Goodness, at the same time abuse either her Understanding, or her Justice.

Either they abuse her Understanding, as if her Majesty could not see when she was Bantred; or they Impose upon her Justice, as if her Majesty would allow the same Insolence in a Church Clergy-Man, which in another Man shall be Punish'd with the Pillory.

To sum up all, it seems clear to me, that her Majesty can pass no Law, that shall lessen the Dissenters Liberty of Conforming, or not Conforming, as they now enjoy it, by Vertue of the late Act of Parliament, without Intrenching upon her Royal Promise, more than once made to the Dissenters, without lessening the Opinion the World has entertained of her Royal Word, and the Honesty of her Maintaining it.

And whereas Duty, as well as Charity, obliges us to believe, that her Majesty will not fail to Maintain that Religious Regard, which she has told us she will have to her Word, we may at the same time conclude, 'tis impossible she should ever be brought to Pass a Law, that in the least Offers to Infringe, or Intrench upon that Sacred Promise she has made the Dissenters, of Maintaining the Toleration.

'Tis impossible her Majesty can Assent to any Act, which shall lessen the Liberty given the Dissenters, by the Act of Toleration; 'tis impossible She can agree to Limit the Term of that Act, for that would be to Repeal part of the Act, and consequently break her Promise.

However, since 'tis plain there is a Party in the Church, who are so eager to pull down the Dissenters, who are for *Bloody Flags, and Banners of Defiance against them*, who have *Beat Hudibras's Ecclesiastick Drum* to Raise the Mob against them, and who are willing to Mortgage the Honesty of their Sovereign.

If I might be allow'd to give Advice to the Dissenters, it should be to throw themselves at her Majesty's Royal Feet, and Humbly ask her Protection, in Terms like these,

May it Please your Majesty,

YOUR Most Dutiful and Obedient Subjects, the Protestant Dissenters, who Quietly and Chearfully obey your Royal Commands, willingly Submit to your Government, and heartily Depend upon your Truth; fly to the Faith and Honour of your Majesty, Graciously Express'd, and Solemnly Engag'd to them in your Royal Promise, for the Continuing to them the Toleration of their Religion, and the Liberty of Serving God according to their Consciences, and the Divine Command; humbly assuring themselves, that according to the Express Resolution of your Majesty, signify'd in your Most Gracious Speech, at the last Prorogation of the Parliament, your Majesty will preserve the said Liberty entire, and not Pass any Bill or Bills, which Retrench, Limit, or Lessen it; they the mean while continuing in a Dutiful, Quiet, and Peaceable Behaviour to your Majesty, and your Government.

Nor can the Dissenters be blam'd for taking her Majesty at her Word; the Queen had certainly never made such a Promise to us, but that she intended these two Things:

1. Punctually to perform it.
2. She Intended the Dissenters should believe, and depend upon it.

The Dissenters can never Acquit her Majesty of this Promise; 'tis a solemn Engagement to them, and in Justice to their Posterity, they can never quit their Claim to the Performance of it.

VI. I come now to Argue, that this way of limiting of Toleration, by a Law to prevent Occasional Conformity, *is against the Interest of the Church of England.*

'Tis certainly the Interest of the Church, as a Church, to bring back all her Children into her own Bosom, that we should have all one Discipline; as well as Doctrine; one Mode of Worship, as we have one Object of Worship; and therefore all Laws which tend to drive People farther from the Communion of the Church, are against her Interest.

They who are for Establishing the Church, by keeping all the Dissenters out of her Communion, are certainly the most Impolitick People in the World; for

The Strength and Glory of a Church, as of a Government, is the Number of its Subjects, Profelytes and Converts; and to make a Law that shall shut out of her Protection, such as are Conforming to them, is the most Impolitick thing in the World.

1. *'Tis contrary to the General Practice of all Churches in the World;* All are for bringing over People to conform to their Way of Worship; if they cannot conform wholly, they are willing to have them conform as far as they can, in hopes to bring them up to higher degrees and at last to compleat Conformity.

Some Churches have used Violence, to bring People to conform to their Way of Worship, and persecuted them for not doing it; and where they could not force a thorow Compliance, have accepted a Compliance for a time, or in part; but the Church of *England* is the only Church in the World that punish'd any because they would not wholly conform, by a Forcing them not to conform at all.

2. *'Tis contrary to Humane Policy;* for in all probability the Posterity of those People, whom now conform in part, will be total Conformists; and to promote

mote a strict total Dissent, by rejecting a partial Conformity, is to shut out the Posterity of those who are shut out now, and consequently lessen all prospect of a General Union, by fixing the *Dissent* of those who would conform, and thereby strengthen the Party, by Encreasing their Numbers.

It has been insinuated by some, that the present Leading Party in the Church, do not desire the *Dissenters* should conform, because they would strengthen the *Low Church Party*, and promote *Moderation* in the Church. This is a Hellish Notion; 'tis a piece of Infernal Polity; favours of the Spirit which reigns in that dark Region, and subjects the Work of the Ministry to a Scandal of *State-Trick Priest-Craft*, and all that's Villainous and Base.

As if any Christian Minister of the Church of *England* could be so vile, to wish the *Dissenters* not to be United if possible to the Church, to wish the Number of Orthodox Catholick Christians not to encrease, or the Peace and Union of these Nations in matters of Religion, not to be brought to pass, and all upon a design of State-policy.

And yet this certainly seems to be True, since these Gentlemen push at a Law to bring them to a total Conformity, or exclude them from any Conformity at all.

For still I insist upon it, that divesting them of Places, unless they do totally conform, is forcing them to a total Dissent, as far as Force is in the power of the Parties we mean.

To this blessed Pass is Religion brought: *when Priests turn States-Men, 'tis always thus*; the Policy of these Gentlemen prevails over their Consciences, and they are now settling their Interest in the Government, at the Expence of their Religion; in short, they are Lifted in a Religious Plot, and are a Party-making, not a Christian-making. The Cure of Souls must give way to the settling an Interest, and they suspend the Clergy-Men to put on the States-Men; 'tis not the

Dif-

Dissenter they would Convert, but 'tis the Whig they would Convert ; If the Occasional Conformist would leave off his Party in Politicks, they would Embrace him, they could easily bare with his Conformity ; but they cannot bear with his being a Whig : Thus Religion is made the Pimp of a Party ; and the Sacred Institutions of Christ Jesus, are Prostituted to serve for Marks of Distinction, between Factions in the State.

If this be not the Case, 'tis Impossible for any Man to assign me a Reason, why the Church of *England* should not desire to bring all the Dissenters in to her Communion, and, as far as in her lies, to Encourage them to come in.

It can never be Answer'd, why they should not accept of some as well as of all, and Encourage Conformity in all the Particulars ; since they who can Conform in part, may in time be brought to Conform in the whole.

He that desires a Reformation, desires all the degrees of Reformation ; and it cannot consist with a true desire to bring over the Dissenters to the Church, not to Encourage those who are in part brought over ; since if they had any Regard to Posterity, 'tis more than probable, the Occasional Conformity of the present Dissenters, is a great step towards Reconciling their Posterity Absolutely.

These Arguments would certainly be moving, were not the whole a State Trick, a Machine of Government, to prevent a Union between the Low Church-Men and the Dissenters, which the other Party Industriously avoid, lest such a Conjunction should prove fatal to them, and they should by that means be out Voted in Elections.

The Author of the *New Association*, a Pamphlet, suited to the very bottom of this scandalous Design, has explained this in his worthy Scheme of depriving the Dissenters of their Liberty, of Voting as Free Holders, a step none of the Party had ever yet the Impudence to take ; but tho' it was always in the design,

they carefully kept it as a Secret, till this Impolitick Author thought the Case was Ripe for a Discovery, and so Midwit'd it into the World before its time.

In the second Volume, he is wonderful Angry, at being charg'd with having discover'd *The Shortest Way*, and Ruffles the Author of the Explanation upon that Head.

Alas, good Man, he would not be Guilty of such a Bloody Doctrine, he only desires that the Dissenters might be Unfranchis'd as *English Men*, and not only, not be Magistrates, or Members of Parliament, but have no Power to Vote for such as are.

What does this Gentleman think of the Dissenters, that they should be so Blind, as not to see *The Shortest Way*, thro' all this; but since such People must be charg'd Home before they will Confess.

Let any Man but Examine, what in Reason must be the Consequence, when all the Dissenters should be thus Disarm'd of their Civil Rights, and such Men chosen into all Places of Magistracy and Legislature, as are suitable to the Temper of Mr. *Sacheverell*, and of this Author; let even themselves tell us when this is perfected, *and the Bloody Flag Hung out*, what ought the Dissenters to expect?

Will they tell us, this may be done, and our Toleration not injur'd? Are we to sit still under it all, and own this is no Persecution? Are we to caress the Church, and say, Peace, Peace, are we to own they go on with the Queen's *Peace and Union*?

Are we under all this to say, That the Lenity and Mercy of the Church is conspicuous, in granting us Leave to go to our Meetings and serve God our own Way; and grant, that Suffering the Loss of Civil Rites to obtain or to maintain this, is no Suffering for Religion, nor in the Imposer is no Oppression?

When we are thus passive, it must be own'd they do us no Wrong, who tell us, we are of the Tribe of *Issachar*, and give us for our Coat of Arms, an Ass Couchant under a Church Rampant.

The Dissenters may indeed have the Misfortune to be oppress'd, and oblig'd to bear these things; but it shall never be said they did not foresee it, and complain of the Wrong; they shall not be taxt with Blindness, tho' they may with Weakness.

The *Oxford* Gentleman they say, has again appear'd in the World to advance the Rites of the Church, in Answer to a late Pamphlet, call'd *The Rights of the Dissenters*.

As to his Arguments, I leave him for the present to his proper Adversary. — So far as he treats me with ill Language, I say nothing to him, for a Railing Accusation is the Part of the Devil, Bear Garden Language is his particular Talent; and they that would have a farther Character of him, are refer'd to a certain Reverend Bishop in *England*, who when he deny'd him Orders, not for want of Learning so much as his want of *Manners* and *Morals*, gave him also the Title deserved, by which he will be known to his Friends, and to us, he is known in his Books, as a Pulpit Incendiary, the Churches Bloody Standard Bearer, the Trumpeter sent out by High Church Authority, in spite of the Queen and her Summons, to *Preach against Union*, to Proclaim open *War between Parties*, to Hang out *Flags of Defiance*, and to tell her Majesty, she cannot have a true Zeal for the Church, unless she pleases to *break her Word, and do so too*.

Now among the Rights of the Church, if they can bring it out, and prove to us, the Church of *England* has a right of *Coertion* upon Conscience, has a right to persecute their Dissenting Brethren, they gain their point.

If they have a right to Compel us to come in, and to force our Consciences; then 'tis certain we can have no right to the Toleration, and the Queen in her Promises to maintain it, Invaded the rights of the Church; for we can have no right to that Freedom, which they have a right to Limit, or Prescribe, and the Queen

cannot promise to Maintain us, in that which they have a Right to restrain and prevent, ——— Thus as the Dissenters are brought in, Claiming a Liberty, they have no Right to, the Queen is also brought in, Establishing and Promising us to Maintain that Liberty, they have a Right to take away, and by consequence invading the Rights of the Church.

And thus the Right of preventing Occasional Conformity, will be presently decided; and I am free to Challenge, all the Advocates for it, to enter into the Argument, of which this is the Abstract.

If the Church has a Right to persecute for Conscience;
Then the *Dissenters* have no Right to Toleration.
But the *Church* has a Right to *Persecute*; Ergo.

E C O N T R A.

If the Church has no Right to Persecute for Conscience Sake; Then the *Dissenters* have a Right to the *Liberty* they now Enjoy, by the *Toleration*;
But the *Church* has no Right to *Persecute*, as it is prov'd from the Apostles Words, *whether it be Right to Obey God, rather than Man, judge ye.*
Ergo, ——— The *Dissenters* have a Right to *Liberty of Conscience*, and *Toleration*.

If the Church has a Right to Persecute, then the Queen can have no Right to Tolerate; for two Contraries, cannot be Erected upon one Foundation of Right.

If then the Queen had no Right to Tolerate the Dissenters, by promising to do so, She promises to do what She cannot Legally perform; and that Promise ought not to be kept.

But if the Church has no Right to Persecute, then had the Queen a Right to give them a Toleration; and what it is Lawful to Grant, it must be Lawful to Continue; and therefore Her Majesty's Gracious Promise, must be a Sacred Security to us, because She had an Undoubted Right to make it.

So

So that the whole Argument must Turn upon this, whether the Church, has a Right to force the Conscience, or in plain *English*, to Persecute for Conscience Sake.

If they can get over this, the Argument is at an End, and we must submit to any thing they please to Inflict; they having an Undoubted Right to Inflict it.

All the Dissenters dependance therefore, and all their Moral Security is plac'd, not in the Act of Toleration, for that may be Mortal, but in Her Majesty's Sacred Promise.

And the Care Her Majesty has taken, to make us Easy on this Head, is very Remarkable; and ought to Discourage the Party from the Attempt. We have a Promise, within a Promise; The Queen, as if her Majesty had seen Occasion for more than ordinary assurance, has given us first a Promise, that She will preserve the Toleration, and Protect the Dissenters in their Liberty of Conscience, and She has Clinch'd this Engagement, by another as Solemn, wherein She Promises, to be always a Religious Observer of her Word.

What hopes then can any Party of Men entertain, of making the least attack upon the Dissenters Liberty, without a barefac'd Presumption, that they shall obtain upon Her Majesty to break her Word?

Upon this Account it is, I would have the Dissenters Easie; those Endeavours which have been made use of to Ruine them, have been in Vain; Her Majesty has kept her Promise hitherto, and there is no need to fear, but She will keep it.

Some People perhaps pretend to say, when Her Majesty made this Promise, She did not expect to be taken in so large a Sence; I can say nothing to that, further than that I don't believe them.

But I believe, before the Late King's Death, had we told those Gentlemen, the Queen would have made such a Promise, they would have said, *we were mistaken*, when She did make it, they found *themselves mistaken*. If the Queen thinks they like it, *Her Majesty is mistaken*, and if ever Her Majesty breaks it, *we shall be all mistaken*.

THE
DISSENTER
MISREPRESENTED,
AND
REPRESENTED.

THIS observable, that some Gentlemen of the Church of *England* are much better qualified to blacken the Character of the Dissenters, than to vindicate their own.

By this means they have not only laid themselves too open to Recrimination, but have unhappily flung that very Dirt at the Dissenters, which flying directly back in their own Faces, they have never been able to wash off.

Those Gentlemen therefore, who have shown the Redundancy of their Wit in so many Pamphlets and Sermons, and amongst them Mr. S-----, and Dr. S----- in particular; are humbly desired to think of Vindicating the Loyalty of their own Church from the Scandals of Perjury and Rebellion, before they proceed any farther in their reproaching the Dissenters; lest the World shou'd take up this Character of them, that they are better at Writing than Answering.

No Man is bound, indeed, to answer a railing Accusation; and to slight a Reflection that cannot be wip'd off is a prudential piece of Art: But then, Methinks the Policy of it lies perfectly hid, and 'tis hard

to account for the Discretion of raising that very Dust that must put out our own Eyes, to cry out at the Dissenters for Schismatics and Rebels, when they may answer with the Text ; *Thou that preacheest Men should abhor Idols, dost thou commit Sacrilege.*

It is now about Forty Years that the Dissenters have been treated by the Clergy especially, and as much as in them lay, by all the World, with the scandalous Titles of Factious Rebels, Traitors to Monarchy, Subverters of Government, and favourers of Anarchy and Confusion, and abundance of such like Stuff, till the Scandal began to be stale, and the Authors being Self-Guilty, began to be Self-Condemned ; and then, that they might change the Crime, *not the Temper* ; they fell upon them for Hypocrisy.

Now Occasional Communion is made the general Brand of the whole Body of Dissenters, as if it was their received Doctrine, their general Practice, and stated receiv'd Opinion.

This being the Foundation, they run away with the Mistake, as if it was an undoubted Truth, and so have nothing to do but to examine the Practice and make it as black as they can.

Now to me it seems to be nothing to the purpose, whether this Practice is to be vindicated or not, *and tho' I am ready to grant that it is not* ; yet are the Dissenters manifestly Injur'd and Misrepresented in having a general Character fasten'd upon them for that which very few of them Practice, and fewer if any of them profess.

Thus from Malicious Premises, 'tis manifest how they draw false Conclusions, and fix that Reproach upon the Dissenters, which, 'tis plain, they have no Reason for.

In the doing this they are so hardn'd against Argument, that even Demonstration has no Effect upon them. If all the Dissenters in *England* shou'd testify their dislike of Occasional Communion, since a few have

have practis'd it, tis not enough to convince such People who are less from Reason than Design.

But 'tis absolutely necessary to crie down the Thing in order to make it the Ground of an Act of Parliament, which under the Shadow of suppressing an Unjustifiable Practice, shall be extended in sundry and secret Branches equivalent to a Persecution.

'Tis very plain, an Act of Parliament barely to prevent Occasional Communion wou'd do no Injury to the Dissenters, but disappoint their Enemies of their Malicious Designs, and it needs no farther Testimony to prove it, than the Care some ha'taken to get other Clauses added to answer those Ends which the bare preventing Clause wou'd not.

But not to examine into the Bill lately depending, or to question what the House of Commons are pleas'd to do, I wou'd ask those Blessed Authors who have so doom'd the Dissenters to the Devil for Hypocrisy, *what Analogy* the Punishment they have laid out for them bears to the Offence? that because some of them can conform to the Church, suppose them tempted by the profits of Places and Offices of Trust, that therefore all those who cannot, shall be divested of their Civil Right as Free-holders of *England*, or Free-men of Corporations.

The hardships of such Usage are so unjust and so unaccountable, that no Apology can be made for them, unless the Dissenters were a People with whom no Faith nor Measures were to be observed.

Therefore to make such Unchristian Dealings go down with the World, the next Work is to blacken them with all the Marks of Reproach that Virulent Tongues, blest with more Wit than Manners can invent.

Gentlemen of the Church of *England*, you that call your selves Ministers of Christ, is this the Duty of your Office? Is Railing at these People the Work of the Pulpit? Is this suitable to the Sacred Character and Holy Profession? Is this the Employment of the

Servants of Jesus Christ, under his immediate Call, and guided by his Infallible Spirit? The Mission of our Lord Jesus, whose Servants ye say ye are, was to Disciple Nations, to win by Meekness and Charity; the Character of his Bishop was, to be *no Striker, no Brawler*, 1 Tim. 3. 3. You have no Direction from him to persecute your Brethren, much less have you to slander and misrepresent them, when the just Character of your present Spirit shall be drawn. What would our Blessed Lord answer, if it were shown him with this Question? *Vide an hac sit Tunica Fi-
nitui.*

If you have real Designs to subject your Protestant Brethren to an insupportable Yoke, consider of some Method more for your Reputation, than a Refuge of Lyes and Scandal.

The Occasional Conformity of the Dissenters, you say, is a Test of their Hypocrisy.

First, Gentlemen, Nine Parts of Ten of the Dissenters protest against it, and never practis'd it: It can then be a Test of No-body's Hypocrisy, but such as are Guilty. Several ha' been tempted with Places, and made to fine for refusing to serve Sheriffs (*a Modern Church way of picking Pockets*) nay, some have been Chosen two Year together, on purpose to Fine them; *a Villainy equally Meriting the Gallows, with Breaking up a House*, and yet these Gentlemen have refus'd to wrong their Consciences, and cou'd not qualify themselves neither for the Money they were to get, or that they were to have: And yet have I not found in all the Infamous Pamphlets and State Sermons, lately publish'd, the least Justice done to the Character of such, but all are Involv'd in the General Storm. Scandal, like Death, spares No-body; and the Church, which shou'd be the Center and Pattern of Charity and Justice, becomes the Infamous Herald of Slander and Reproach.

As to those Gentlemen who are of Opinion, that they may Occasionally Conform to the Church, they say

say in their own Vindication, that you have not yet prov'd it Unlawful for them to do so; and some of their yet Unanswer'd Books, for *Answering Arguments is not your Talent*, stand as a Challenge to you to prove the Affirmative.

If then the Fact be not sinful in it self (tho' I do not grant that neither) and if it be but a Very Few of the Dissenters practis'd it: Pray, Gentlemen of the Pulpit, Where is your Honesty, your Justice, your Charity, to punish a Party for the Misdoings of a Few?

The Dissenters in *England* are not a Body, neither in a Politick, or any other Capacity; if they were the whole might be answerable for the Parts, as having Power to call them to Account. How then are the Innocent Many to be Censur'd for the Guilty Few? And why then should your Furious Champions condemn them all in Print, to lose their Birth-Right, as *English Men*; because some among them do what you say they shou'd not do?

And why, Gentlemen, all this stir about Places? When 'tis but a very short while since some of your most Eminent Friends branded all People in Places as Enemies to the Liberties of *England*, and under Temptations to betray us; People not fit to be trusted in the Legislature, Bond slaves to Arbitrary Power, perfectly subjected to Court Practices, and Enemies to the Safety of a Free Nation, *Væ Vobis Hypocrite!* We Dissenting Hypocrites have liv'd to see you Church Hypocrites possessing the Places and Pensions of those you rail'd at, and the Discourses of a Self-denying Ordinance are quite Dropt and Forgotten: Nay, so eager to engross all to themselves, that now Court Party and Country Party are laid aside, the Matter is come about, and the *True-Born English Man* appears in the right.

*That all the Strife is plainly to be seen,
To get some Men put out, and some put in.*

This is very hard, the Church-men can preach up passive Obedience one Year, and take up Arms against their Prince the next; swear an Absolute Allegiance to the King and his Heirs to Day, and swear to a New Government to Morrow; Preach and Print against Schismaticks and Dissenters, and King *James*, and seporate from their own Church, and set up private Schismatical Conventicles under King *William*.

Their Statef-men cry down Courtiers, and Pensioners set up for Patriots, and scorn Places as things Fatal to Liberty under King *William*, and strive to engross all the Places they can get under Queen *Ann*, and cry up Laws to keep all but themselves out: They can pretend, that no Man having an Office under the King, shall sit in the House of Commons under King *William*, and yet are willing both to sit in the House, and enjoy the principal Offices in the Kingdom under Queen *Ann*; and yet these are the People who cry out upon Two Millions of their Brethren as Hypocrites, because less than a Thousandth part of them have been guilty of Occasional Conformity.

What Justice, what Equity, can there be in this way of Dealing with the Dissenters? Nothing can justify it that I know, but their being a People fit to be extirpated from the Face of the Earth: And as some have very piously mov'd it, you have nothing more to do, but to set about it the shortest Way.

'Tis hardly worth while to mention the unusual Exorbitance of our Church Mob, against their Brethren the Dissenters. Some are so hot, they can't stay till this Bill may be past into a Law, and other Opportunities may happen further to suppress them. But they are for depriving them of their Right of Voting for Parliament Men as Freeholders; to which I would add, Let them go on, and take away their Freeholds too, a thing every jot as just, and then the Business would be over. And another Late Author has inform'd the World, that he has found out a bet-

ter Way than the shortest Way: Not that the shortest Way did not please him, but that 'tis unhappily *blown*, and grown a little too much out of Credit; and this New Invention of his is, to have all the Dissenters Children educated in the Church of *England*, whether they will or no. So first we are to have our Birth-right taken away, and then our Children taken away, and so on to the shortest Way.

I wonder these Gentlemen are not ashamed to foister these things upon the World, as their own Conceptions, when really they ought to quote the Author from whence they borrow the Method, *viz.* *Lewis XIVth*, the taking away first the Character, then the Privileges, then the Employments of the Protestants were the previous Steps to their Destruction. When this was done, the Business was ripe; then they took away their Children to put them to Popish Schools, and nothing remain'd but the *Coup de Grace*, the last Blow Banishment, and so the Work was done at once. This is the Pattern these Gentlemen walk by, who yet are so affronted at being told, that they intend to proceed with us by the shortest Way.

Thus these Gentlemen begin with us, by misrepresenting the Dissenters to Mankind as Hypocrites, false in Principle, and false in Practice, *Ambo-Dexters* in Religion, &c. because some among them have been so: As well might the Church of *England* be branded with the Jesuitical Doctrine of *King Killing*, because Sir *John Friend* and Sir *William Parkins* were guilty of the Assassination; who were not only Members of the Church, but receiv'd Absolution *without Repentance*, from the Hands of the Ministers of that Church.

Really Gentlemen, the Dissenters act abundance of Charity to you, whatever scandalous Returns you make them, that they do not recriminate on you such scandalous Practices of yours as would so blacken your Church, that Foreign Protestants wou'd hardly

reckon

reckon you among the Members of the Reforma-
 tion.

The Rigour you are now using to your Religious Brethren, and the scandalous Lenity you show to all manner of Criminal Conversation in your known Members, the known Distance between your profest Doctrine, Canons and Profession, and the Practice of your whole Body render you scandalous to Religion itself, and are you the Men who cry out of Hypocrisy? *Physicians heal your selves.*

When your Clergy are less Vitious, your Magistrates less Prophane, your Statesmen Honest, your Officers faithful, then we'll be content to be Censur'd for Occasional-Conformity.

But since 'tis thus with you, any body shou'd cry out of Hypocrisy, Disloyalty and Rebellion, rather than you. You ought to be the last Men that shou'd tax us, and shou'd lay your hands on your Mouth, with a just Reflection upon your own Dishonesty and Disloyalty instead of search out ours.

The Dissenters are further misrepresented, as Persons who Originally made the Separation from the Church, from a Native Spirit of Division, from an Obstinate Aversion to Order and Government, wherein their Enemies forget that their Clergy lost near three Thousand good Benefices, and their Laity many good Places, because they cou'd not in Conscience comply with what the Church men impos'd upon them. They forget, that afterwards at a Conference with the Clergy of the Church of *England*, they made such large Concessions to the Church, in order to Unity and Peace, that Bishop *Juxton* himself and several of the honestest Party of the Church declar'd, they shew'd a True Christian Temper, and that their Proposals were a sufficient Ground of a Union.

But all these Steps were absolutely rejected by special Order from the Court, where it was receiv'd as a Maxim in their Politicks, to keep open the Breach, and not to suffer the Church to come to any Agreement

ment with the Dissenters, for fear they shou'd unite against the Popish Interest, which was all along the Darling of the Court, tho' it was Mask't with the Political Zeal of supporting the Church, and express'd by that ambiguous Phrase of *the Religion establish'd by Law*; or, *the Church of England as by Law Establish'd*. A Term of such a plain Signification, 'tis no more a Doubt, but that they thereby always meant the Church of Rome.

If the Dissenters made the Schism only from a Spirit of Division and Obstinacy, they must pass for Fools as well as Knaves, that sunk their Interest to gratifie their Passions; that suffer'd the Loss of their Fortunes, and the Ruine of their Families, blind to their own Advantages, that quitted good Livings and large Benefices to depend upon Naked Providence and Starving Charity; and all this without any Motion of Conscience, or any solid Principle. If the Dissenters are all Hypocrites that can conform for Places and Honours, Preferments, and Good Livings. Why did they not conform to keep them as others did?

It cannot be from any Principle, but a Religious Necessity of Conscience, that so many Men lost their Livings, ruin'd their Families, and quitted their Employments: Unless they were all Fools, and that is a Charge they never were yet tax'd with.

In this Case we come to a Parallel with the Church again upon the late Revolution, and 'twou'd be necessary to examine a little, if the Church-men themselves did not make a New Schism in their own Church upon less and worse Pretences.

Upon the Revolution, the Government exacted a New Oath of Allegiance to the late King and Queen, their old Oath, as some conceiv'd being yet in Force, their other King being yet alive, several of the Bishops, and many of their Clergy, from a Principle of Conscience, as they say, cou'd not comply with this Law; and following the Example of the Dissen-

ters they had hated so much, makes a New Separation, and set up private Schismatical Conventicles and Meetings of their own.

If these were not Dissenters on a Principle of Conscience, 'twas worse with them than with us; for they declar'd themselves averse to the Government, scrupl'd their Debt of Allegiance to the Crown, and openly acknowledg'd another Sovereign. These things the Dissenters cou'd never be charg'd with, for they always acknowledg'd the Civil Power, and only debated their Sovereignty in Point of Conscience.

The Church-men will find insuperable Difficulties before them in this Article of *Non-jurant Dissenters*: For if 'twas Lawful for the Church to swear Allegiance, and acknowledge and swear to King *William*, then down comes the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, like *Dagon* before the Ark. If they cannot defend it as Lawful, then the indelible Blot of Perjury and Rebellion, things the Clergy of the Church of *England* have been very fond of charging on the Dissenters, lies so close to them, as I know not how they will wipe it off!

From this ill Usage of the Dissenters, 'tis plain, that all this Storm threatening them, is the Effect of a Civil Juggle against the Dissenters, to strip them of the Places others gape after; and to prevent their possessing them for the future, not so much for the Safety of the Nation, as to engross the Profits to themselves.

Well, Gentlemen, as for the Places we can't help it: If the Government won't employ us in Places we must go without them. But this does not make it just, to unqualify us by Law from being capable of Service. Is it not enough, that the Powers are bent against us not to employ us; that we are render'd suspected to our Sovereign, as Persons not fit to be trusted? But we must be so captivated, that it must be made Criminal in us to accept of Employment, if Her Majesty should be willing to trust us? This has Three ill Aspects.

1. It looks as if you were afraid to depend upon the Steadiness of the Queen's Resolution ; but were doubtful she might be brought over one time or other to our side, and be induc'd to try our Fidelity.

2. It looks as if you were Jealous of our Merit that it might one time or other appear, that the Queen has been abus'd into an ill Opinion of a great Number of Her Subjects : And that being convinc'd of it, she shou'd with an equal Respect receive and admit us with you to a Promiscuous Enjoyment, both of her Favour and Employments. Or,

3. That you are conscious of some hard and extravagant thing you are likely to put upon her Majesty, which you apprehend the Queen may dislike, and resent so highly as to dismiss you her Service. And you are willing to deprive her effectually of the Loyal Endeavours of her Protestant Dissenting Subjects, by obliging them under severe Penalties to refuse their Assistance, that she may be under a Force to employ you.

If I judge too hard, I ask pardon ; declaring it is not for want of Charity : But I confess, I can see no other Consequence can be drawn from it. For if they had a full Confidence in the Queen, either in her Majesty's Judgment or Resolution, they wou'd acquiesce in her declaring that she will be serv'd by the most Zealous Members of the Church of *England* ; but from their Diffidence in her Majesty, they are for bringing the Dissenters to a Force, that if her Majesty shou'd be brought over to trust them again, they shall either cease being Dissenters, or refuse their Duty to their Obliging Mistress, when her Majesty in her Royal Bounty shall think fit to employ them.

I shall not here dispute the Right the Dissenters have to a Share of their Prince's Favour, till forfeited by Misdemeanour. I think it favours of less Man-

ners, and less Passive Obedience, than those Church Zealots us'd to profess; to limit their Queen that she shall not employ whom she thinks fit: Or that she shall employ them and trust them, and No-body else, let their Behaviour be how and what it will.

Nor is the depriving us of the Favour of our Sovereign, and the Opportunities of serving our Queen, the only thing you endeavour; but you envy us the Opportunity of serving God too, and tho' you have not dar'd yet to attempt our Act of Toleration in a Legal Way, yet you have snarl'd at it, shown your Dillike of it upon all Occasions. With what Contempt have you treated the late King *William*, for taking you at your Word, and pressing you to perform the Promises you made in the Days of your Affliction, of coming to a Temper with us? With what reluctant Hearts do you see us enjoy our Liberty, by that Law which you dare not attack? How has it grated on your Minds, to think the Queen shou'd give us her koyal Promise to maintain this Act? How often has your Impudent Pamphleteers damn'd that Act as Antichristian? And consequently the Queen must stand very fair in your Thoughts, for obliging her self to maintain it.

We come now to see how the Dissenter are Misrepresented, as to their Management in Publick Places, where they are at once branded with all the Disorders and Misbehaviours of the former Reigns. One would think, by the Odious Reproaches with which the Hot-spurs of the Church load the Dissenters, that all the Favourites, Ministers of State, Lords of the Treasury, Receivers and Commissioners of all sorts, in the last Reign, were Dissenters. " The Dissenters, " says a late Pamphleteer of the Hot Party, maintain'd their Reputation indifferently well, till, by " the Connivance of the last Reign they got the Management of the Publick Matters into their hands, " and then they got the Knack of selling all Offices " and Preferments to Profligate Rogues of their own " Party,

“ Party, embezling the Publick Treasure, and Cheating the Nation; that ’twas plain, they out-did all that ever went before them. Author of a shorter Way, &c.

This is a Black Charge, and all Men must allow, if it be not true, the Dissenters have a great deal of Wrong done them. We shall examine the Truth of it afterward, and in the mean time examine what is the Use made of the Slander.

First they are cried down as a sort of People not fit to be trusted with any Place of Profit, or Honour in the Nation: Every Saucy Scribler, *as one Curr brings all the Dogs of the Parish out*, is upon them. *We’ll let them enjoy their Estates*, says one scandalous Beggar, that has none of his own; but never let them be trusted in Places again, ’tis time for us to have a Season to get Money in, that is, *to Cheat the Nation in*; for that was what he had been Talking of.

The late Reign is reflected upon, for bringing them in, and King *William* can hardly escape the Name of a Presbyterian for employing them. Nay, one has had the Impudence to bring in King *William* and the Dissenters, conspiring and confederating together to suppress the Church of *England*, and set up a Synodical Presbyterian Government. ’Twould be endless and intolerable to quote the Bear Garden Language, and the base Treatment the Dissenters meet with in *Pamphlets*, in *Sermons*, in *Common Discourse*, as the publick *Harpies*, and Thieves of the Nations Treasure, the Engrossers and Mercenary Brokers for Places and Preferments, Pensioners to the Court, to get great Sums of Money given, and then to cheat both King and Country.

Now if after all one Word of this should not be true, what must the World say? Generals prove nothing, and Negatives prove nothing, but to confirm the Reputation of our Protestant Dissenters as to Obedience to Laws and Faithfulness in Employments,

and

and that if they are Guilty, a fair Proof of the Fact may appear, and the Persons be known, that a whole Body may not suffer a Scandal for a few, and those few not be Guilty neither. We challenge all the Enemies of the Dissenters that bring this mighty Charge,

————— *Stand forth and shew*
The Foreskins of the Philistines, ye slew.

Let the World know who are the Men, let them charge the Dissenters with one Disloyal, Disrespectful Act to their Sovereign; or the least Tendency, either in their Practice or Principles, since the late Revolution; either to Evade, or Oppose the Laws of the Land, or to disturb the Publick Peace, or to injure the Trade, or Publick Interest of their Native Country: Nay, we challenge them to make it appear when the Dissenters have been backward to promote the Publick Good, or to advance their Money, even to the Ruine of many Families, by lending their Cash on the Deficient Bankrupt Funds of late Parliaments, which they have in vain expected Redress for since.

But to go further, and come close to the very Articles charg'd upon them by this hasty Humour; let me take the Freedom to observe, no brib'd Members of Parliament, no corrupt Ministers of State, no Receivers of Publick Money unaccounted for, no false Endorsers of *Exchequer* Bills, no Counterfeiters of Bank Notes, no Misappliers of appropriated Funds, no Obtainer of Exorbitant or Surreptitious Grants, no Commissioners without Accompts, Paymasters without Vouchers, or Treasurers without Cash, no Betrayers of our Fleets, or Revealers of the Cabinet Council of the Throne, have been found among the Dissenters; they have lent their Money to the Government, and lost their Money for the Government, but have got nothing by the Government, their Liberty of Conscience is all the Gain they have made us Dissenters, and they are not thought worthy of that.

A little further, Upon the strictest Search I can find but Two Dissenters that were in Places of great Trust in the late Reign, but Two in whose Power it was to have been Guilty of the Crimes which are thrown up. on the whole Body of the Ministry, and Offices of the late Reign, and who can with any Face be call'd Dissenters. And to the Eternal Glory of the whole Body of Dissenters, I challenge all the Sons of Slander, to shew me Two Men either in that Reign, or in any Reign, who discharg'd their places with more Integrity, and with unwearied Diligence, and a spotless Honesty; carried an untainted Reputation to their Graves.

These, for I am far from being asham'd of their Names, were Old *Thomas Papillon*, Esq; First Commissioner of the Victualling Office, and *Mordecai Abbot* in the Exchequer.

These were both profess'd Dissenters, they enjoy'd Places that had as great Opportunities of Frauds and ill Practices as any; they continued in them thro' the whole Reign of King *William*, and both died in the Service, and neither of them has left room for the least Reproach upon them after their Death; Envy could never blacken them Living, nor Slander touch them now they are Dead; and all Men that understand the Business they went thro', and that have Honour enough to speak impartially, do own that never Prince had two better Officers.

Where now are these Dissenters who behaved themselves so ill in the last Reign, that Her Majesty is as it were, warn'd by our hot Party not to trust them in this.

If they are to be found any where, one would expect them in the Address of the House of Commons to the Queen, where the misapplication of the Publick Money, and Mismanagements of the last Reign are very particularly enumerated, and many of the chief Instruments are expos'd, by Name; let us enquire if any of them are Dissenters.

And first, for the Right Honourable the Earl of *Ramelagh*; will they call him a Dissenter. 'Tis not to be denied but a great part of the many Millions unaccounted for, by him, was paid by the Dissenters; and so they come in as Sufferers by your Church of *England* Knaves; but here is no Dissenter in the Case; all Men that know the late Noble Pay-master of the Army, know he was no Dissenter; and thus I dare say of him, that were he oblig'd to change his Religion, if he has any, and must of necessity be a Papist, a Presbyterian, or renounce all Religion; Ple Judge no farther, but he would certainly be no Presbyterian.

The Treasurer of the Navy, the Auditor of the Exchequer, Sir *Robert Howard*, Sir *Charles Duncomb*, Sir *Rowland Guin*, Sir *John Manwaring*; none of these will be angry with me for saying they were no Presbyterians, no Dissenters; no, nor not one named or pointed at in all that Tedious Address; who are then these Dissenters *in Nubibus*, that have cheated the Nation of so much Mony, that all their Brethren must be branded for it, as a People not fit to be trusted?

Gentlemen of the Church of *England*, will ye come to a Ballance with us? Will ye pay us Dissenters all the Mony we have lost by the knavery of the Church of *England* Officers, Receivers, Pay-masters, &c. if so; we will undertake to make good all the loss you can pretend to charge upon Dissenters in the like Offices.

What a shame then is it in a Country of Christians, that any Men should be thus abused? 'Tis strange we are all Thieves, and Rogues, and not fit to be trusted, and yet not one of us to be found; not one to have his Name put in the Parliaments Address, not one to be voted Guilty of high Crimes and Misdemeanours, not one to be posted, and made an Example of. Pardon us, if we think that the Pay-master General, or

any of the particular Persons concern'd had been Dissenters, we should have heard of it.

Really Gentlemen, this is hard usage, what all of us to be hang'd, and yet none of us Guilty? Have we but two profess'd Dissenters among you, and both of them own'd to be the best Officers ever you had; and yet must all the Reproach due to your own Church of *England* Officers, lie at our Door? How can you but blush! This is the beginning of the *Shortest Way*: How can you be Angry at that Author, and pretend you are not for Persecuting and Destroying us, why to kill our Reputation, and that by Slander, and false Accusation, is the worst kind of Murther.

Thus far all Men must own we have been Misrepresented, and are in general Abused.

If this be so, then I would enquire of these Gentlemen,

1. What they can say, why they wou'd so far unhinge the Nations Peace, as to Rescind the Act of Toleration.
2. Why at this time, when the Queen and the whole Nation has their Hands full of a Foreign Enemy, they should endeavour to make so many of her Majesties Subjects uneasy.
3. What have the Dissenters done since the Act of Toleration to forfeit the Favour.

As to that Question, Why they would Repeal the Toleration, being not to answer for them; I shall leave it for them to answer if they can, and only tell them why in my Opinion they should not.

1. Because in all the Acts of their Lives, they cannot shew one more for their own Reputation, than a Concession of Charity to the Consciences of their fellow Protestants.

2. Because, in the Address to the late King *James*, and in the Application they made to King *William* to rescue them from Ruin, they declar'd themselves Willing, and promis'd with usual Death-bed Sincerity to come to a Temper, a Christian Temper, such as should give Ease and Liberty to tender Consciences; and since, in their Distress they promised, 'twould be something scandalous for them to go back from their Words, and we shall have a stronger Charge of Hypocrisy to lay upon them than they will ever get over.

3. Because we had an equal share in the Revolution with them, had an equal Interest in setting King *William*, and consequently Queen *Ann* upon the Throne, and ought to have a Proportion of the Advantages of that wonderful Performance, by which as they were sav'd from Popery, and Tyrants of all sorts, so we were with them set upon a Foundation of Legal Liberty; and 'twould be highly unjust that we should be deprived of that Liberty we purchas'd with our Blood and Estates, and they left entire in the Possession both of our Priviledges and their own too.

4. Because both among the Clergy and the Laity, five Parts in six of their own Church are Friends to Moderation and Charity, lovers of Peace, and desire to have Union and Love preserv'd, and no Men to be Ruin'd for meer Principles of Conscience; these however Reproacht by a more Zealous Party, with the Title of Low Church-men are the substantial Majority both in the Church and Nation; these are constant Friends to Mercy and Toleration. 'Twas by their faithful Discharge of the Trust the Nation reposed in them, we owe the obtaining it, and these see yet no reason to rifle us of it.

If you can give better Reasons than these, why we should be Persecuted, Ruin'd and Undone; they that have them would do well to let us know them, possibly something may be brought to Light to convince

us,

us, but as yet, we can see nothing material, nothing that favours either of Justice, or Honour, or Advantage to the Church of *England* it self, much less for the Reputation of her Charity and Candor.

If we have forfeited the Favour of our Prince, or our Right to the Laws, what was the Crime, and when was it committed? we have met with Clamour indeed, but no real Crime, no fair Charge.

If a few have offended, let the few be punished, that we may know who they are; but to punish half a Nation for the Misbehaviour of a Few, is a piece of Justice you would be very loth to submit to; *Quod tibi Fieri non vis Alteri ne Feceris.*

On the other hand, the Dissenters, as Dissenters, are not capable of any Act or Deed that can forfeit this Liberty; for they never acted as a Body, as a collected Head or Sect of People joyn'd together for their mutual Interest; if they had had Wisdom to have done so, I am of the Opinion they had long since had better Terms from their Prince, and from their Neighbours.

The *Hugonots* in *France* had always their National Synods, and general Meetings of the Gentry and Nobility of their Party, in which Meetings they concerted the Measures of their common Security, and as a Body, they made their Address to their Sovereign; Receiv'd Answer, and Directions, and made Stipulation for their Security.

The Dissenters in *England* have not so much as a general Correspondence one with another; no Man can say he says or does any thing in the Name of the Dissenters. Indeed they have not a Unity in Affection, enough to produce a Unity of Interest; *the worst of that is their own*; but this also is one Advantage in Justice they ought to recite from all the Disadvantages of it, that no Crime, which is not their General Practice, can with Reason be charged as the Crime of the Party.

I should descend now to represent the Dissenter, according to the intent of the Title.

And nothing hinders me, but that any Person will think me a Party, and Impartiality in such Case, may look like a Panegyrick.

I had much rather insist upon the Assertions past, which, I think, 'tis plainly enough proved, that they have been basely Misrepresented, loaded with unjust Reproaches, and charg'd with Crimes they are not Guilty of; if any Person will trouble himself rather to make it out that they are not injur'd in this Nature, than summon up his Christian Charity to commend the Practice, I shall be glad to see him prove by such Demonstrations as are equally Honest and true with these I have inserted here.

If it cannot be made out, I think 'tis but just, while we are equally Loyal to our Prince, peaceable under the Government, assistant to the Occasions of the State, cheerful in our Taxes, Dutiful and Willing to promote the publick Benefit, we should be sharers in the Publick Safety, and 'till we offend the Law, we ought to have the protection of the Law.

And not of the Laws only, but of the common Charity of Mankind which we have yet done nothing to forfeit; when we do, and cannot justify our selves by good and warrantable Reasons and Demonstrations, 'tis then time enough to be reproacht.

As to what has been done in former Ages, we think our selves not at all concerned in the Dispute, but to them that continue to brand us with Disloyalty to Princes, Enemies to Monarchy, and Disturbers of Government: We refer them to answer a late abdicated Author, viz. D. F—s *New Test of the Church of England Loyalty*; and we do, as an Addition to it, venture to say; both we and our Forefathers are, and always have been, as Loyal and as Faithful to the Kings and Queens of this Nation, as our Accusers, and the Dissenters have been less Guilty of Rebellion than the Church of England; and let them prove the contrary if they can.

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THE
PARALLEL:
OR,
PERSECUTION
OF
PROTESTANTS
The Shortest Way to prevent the
Growth of Popery
IN
IRELAND.

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T O T H E
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Madam,

Your Majesty's most Loyal, Dutiful, and always Faithful Subjects, the Protestant Dissenters in Ireland, could never so well demonstrate either their profound Duty to your Person, and Regard to your Repose, or their own most heavy Pressure of Mind under the melancholly Consideration of being incapacitated for your Majesty's Service by any Method, as by the Dutiful Silence and Entire Submission they have always shown to your Government, and the Laws.

They have no more been Clamorous with their Complaints, than disobedient in their Practice, although under the terrible, and Pardon them, Madam, if they think, undeserv'd Mortification, of being joined with your Majesty's Capital Enemies, the Irish Papists; and enacted against in a Bill for the Publick Security of this Kingdom.

As nothing could have been more desirable to them than to see Your Majesty's Crown and Government secur'd by an intire suppressing Popery in this Nation, so nothing could have been more agreeable to them than to bear of a Bill depending in your Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, presented by your Faithful and Dutiful Commons of Ireland, for the more effectual Security of Your Majesty, and this Nation, by preventing the Growth of Popery.

And, Madam, as it must needs be the remotest thing in the World from their Thoughts, that they could be

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any way concern'd in such a Bill, other than to reap in Common, with the rest of your Majesty's Loyal Subjects, the Securities and Advantages of it; so nothing could be more surprizing, as well as afflicting, than to find themselves rank'd with those People, whom, they presume, your Majesty is well assur'd they have always been earnest to oppose; and at the Expence of their Blood and Fortunes have assisted your Majesty's Royal Predecessors against upon all Occasions.

It cannot be that your Majesty's Protestant Dissenting Subjects of Ireland can be guilty of any thing to entitle them to such severe Mortifications, since tho' they have the Unhappiness to differ in some Opinions from your Majesty's Sentiments, and the Established Church yet as they value themselves upon the Testimonies graciously given them by your Majesty's Ancestors of their steady and unshaken Loyalty to the Crown of England and your Majesty's Royal Family, so they humbly presume to appeal to their Professions of Faith, in Matters of Religion, as well as to their Constant Practice, to determine whether they have always adhered to Principles equally Orthodox in Doctrine, and equally contrary to, and inconsistent with, the Errors and Absurdities of the Church of Rome.

As Your Majesty's Royal Resolution to protect the Protestant Interest without Distinction is known to the World, so your equal Conduct to all your Subjects gives an universal Satisfaction, that your Royal Judgment knows perfectly to execute by the most proper Methods what your Goodness hath first determined to be reasonable; and as this is the Joy of all your People, so Madam, your Protestant Dissenting Subjects in Ireland are too sensible of the Blessing, and know too well both their Duty and Interest, to do any thing to forfeit their Share in it.

Nor can they doubt, but as Your Majesty's equal Regard to all your Subjects is your Glory, so it will be their Advantage always, enclining your Majesty to hear, and redress the Pressures and Complaints of any

Part of your Government, crush'd by the Weight of Another ; and humbly laying themselves and their Case at Your Royal Feet, they willingly wait the time when God shall move Your Royal Heart to that Goodness and Tendernefs which the true Mother extended to the Child, when the Dreadful Arm was stretcht out to divide it.

In the Confidence of this, they heartily pray for Your Majesty's unvaluable Life and Prosperity, and earnestly wish and desire the whole Body of Protestants in these Nations, for the Security of their Interests, and of Your Majesty's Government, would obey the Glorious Invitation to Peace and Union, which Your Majesty has so often made to all your Subjects, by which we might all joyn in your Service to the Glory of the Protestant Religion, the entire Satisfaction of your Majesty, and the Peace and Prosperity of these unbappy divided Nations.

THE PARALLEL, &c.

THose Gentlemen who wrote with so much Vigour in the Case of Occasional Conformity, had most effectually clench'd their Arguments, and overthrown all the Pretences of the Dissenters against an Occasional Bill, could they, as they undertook, ha' made it out, *That in all wise Nations it has been the Practice to exclude all such as are not of the National Church from any share in the Administration of Publick Affairs.*

But as the good or bad Effects of Exclusive Laws may be most clearly discovered in Cases where the Seasons, Methods, Persons, Interests and Circumstances, run in the most exact Parallel, I shall beg leave to pass by the exploded Arguments, drawn from the practice of Nations abroad, for excluding from the Management of Publick Affairs all who are not of their National Church, and bring up a Precedent near home in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, where the Resemblance of a Bill against Occasional Conformity, in its charitable Expedients and flourishing Consequences, may teach those who desire the like in *England*, to look over among their Neighbours, and see the Consequences of it upon the Dissenters.

'Tis very probable the Gentlemen concern'd in that Project for *Ireland*, would never have push'd at it if they

they had not thought at the same time something equivalent in *England* would have past; for they would not have been so accessary to discovering the real Design, they would not have been willing the cloven Foot should have been so soon.

Unhappy Ireland! Thou art always bound to be ruin'd to save thy Neighbours; How was thy Massacre in Forty-one a flaming Beacon to illuminate the World, and tell *England* what was coming upon her! Giving her timely notice to take care of her self, and leading the way to her Safety with the Blood of 200000 innocent betray'd Protestants.

In our last unhappy Popish Reign how was this Kingdom swallowed up with Tyranny, and made a Sacrifice to *Rome* and *Romish* Politicks; entirely devour'd and over-run by the Arbitrary Methods of that Time? How was Tyranny and Popery hand in hand introduc'd, and the Laws and Liberties of Protestants trod under Foot, as a fair Introduction to the same Method putting forward in *England*, but not so easily brought to pass, and consequently as a fair Notice to the *English* People to fortifie themselves against that Flood of Destruction which they had seen overflow their Unfortunate Neighbours.

Now thou art set a third time as a Mark, a Buoy on the cover'd Rock, a Notice of concealed Mischiefs, a warning Piece to all the Protestant World, but particularly as a Plan of a Design laid for the Destruction both of the Liberties, Civil Rights and Religious Privileges of thy Protestant Dissenting Neighbours.

In all Cases, and on all Occasions, when the Ruin and Destruction of *England* has been design'd, *Ireland* has thus gone before her; some that are wiser in Politicks than I can pretend to, give this for a Reason, That the Protestant Interest being weaker in this Kingdom than in that, the encroaching Party has not been obliged to such Cautions, and such nice Measures here as they have there, and the Project has been

sooner ripe ; but they have been very happily defeated in their grand Design, by their own Forwardness in that part of it, the first Execution in that Case opening the Scene so early, that Nation has always been allarm'd from hence, and found occasion to remember the old Rule in the Accidence, *Felix quem faciunt, &c.*

And thus in the fatal Instances given, *England* always took warning from her Sister *Ireland* ; in 1641, when the bloody Papists Massacred so many thousand Protestants in *Ireland*, it immediately allarm'd the whole *English* Nation, and told then in Characters too plain not to be read by the meanest Understanding, what *English* Men were to expect from the Predominacy of the same Party, and consequently that it was high time to Arm against the Encroachments of Popery at home, to prevent the same Destruction they had seen happen to their Neighbours here in *Ireland*.

In 1688, when the Methods of Arbitrary Power, and the Popish Designs went on so fast in *Ireland*, that the whole Kingdom appeared in a manner subjugated to the Power of the Princes Will, and prepared to be either Papists or Slaves, or both. The forward Ruin of their Liberties, and the visible Destruction of the Protestant Religion in *Ireland*, like the Drum to the Battle, awakned the *English* Nation to their own Deliverance, and rouz'd them to consider, That the only Reason why they were not reduced to the same Condition with their unhappy Neighbours was, because the Enemies Power was not yet arrived to a pitch of Capacity ; and that the Design was the same, tho' the End was remoter there, as their Work had more Difficulty.

The Third Article is now before us, *equally Ruinous* in its Consequences and *equally Exemplar* ; and in this they keep still to the former Method, That we are always Ruin'd a step before *England*.

'Tis confess'd the Contrivers of these Religious Disturbances managed their Matters so as to have the Blow struck in both Kingdoms at the same time, and so have prevented the Mischief in one Place, being a Warning to the other : But Providence that has ever watch'd over the Protestant Interest broke the Snare, and unravel'd all this knot of Misery, and still poor *Ireland* is the Beacon to warn us, the Alarm to rouse us, and the Example from which to beware.

'Tis therefore worth some Remark here, that the specious Pretences made in both Kingdoms to cover and conceal the real Design, have been equally contriv'd, tho' not equally successful. In *Ireland* a Clause to ruine the Protestant Dissenters, and in Effect the Protestant Interest, by discouraging and discontenting a great part of the Protestants in that Kingdom, comes introduc'd under the Title of *an Act to prevent the Growth of Popery*.

'Tis not material to enquire by whose Application or secret Management this Mischief was accomplish'd ; nor is it the Design of this Paper to make Personal Reflections.

But it cannot but be observ'd, that it seems something hard, and very unkind, that the Dissenters in *Ireland*, who were known to be one of the chief Bulwarks in that Kingdom against Popery, and who were in general a People who at the Price of their Blood defended themselves to the last Extremity, and kept a footing in *Ireland* till Relief could come from *England*, should by the Artifice, and for the private Ends of a Party, who have not yet told us what they drive at, be rank'd in the same Class with the Introducers of *that Popery* they laid down their Lives to oppose, and be coupled with the most dangerous Enemies of the Kingdom.

At best it favours of a most scandalous Ingratitude, That the very People who drank deepest of the Popish Fury, and that were the most vigorous to shew both their Zeal and their Courage, in opposing Ty-

ranny and Popery, and on the Foot of whose Forwardness and Valour, the Church of *Ireland* recovered her self from the low Condition Popery had reduc'd her to, should now be requited with so injurious a Treatment as to be link'd with those very Papists they fought against, and be enacted against under the Head of *preventing the Growth of Popery*.

At the same time that this Bill was passing in *Ireland*, great Boasts were made by some People, of a Bill on foot in *England*, for the further enforcing the Test Act, by preventing the *Occasional Conformity* of Dissenters.

The Advocates for this Bill have had a great deal of trouble to defend it from some Scandals thrown upon it by other Pens. As that it was a Breach of *Toleration*, a Design of *Persecution*, and an Encroachment on Civil as well as Religious Right. Whether it has been clear'd of these Charges is not the Business of this Paper; and yet if my Opinion were to be ask'd in this Case, I believe I should say, that both *Persecution* and *Encroachments* on Civil Liberties, was actually expected by some that built their Hopes on the Success of this Bill.

Why some Gentlemen took care to put out of the Preamble to the second Bill the Declaration against *Persecution*, is a Mystery I wont undertake to explain; but that it afforded various Speculations to us without Doors is as certain, as that after it was so left out, some People began to lessen their Diligence in Exploding *Persecuting Principles*.

The Language of those Gentlemen without Doors, who at first were only for restraining a vicious Practice as they call'd it, was soon alter'd, and the Pulpit and the Press throng'd with *Invectives* at the Dissenters.

I shall not direct the World to judge of one thing by another, but where Parallels are drawn very exact, what shall we say when two things are acted at the

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same Time, by the same Persons, in the same Methods, and the Subject exactly the same, who shall doubt the sameness of the Design.

Never let our New Association Men talk any more of Dissenters * Associating, the Associations are against them, what else are such unusual Methods, such forgetting of Services, such making Laws against the Innocent, such branding them with odious Characters.

* *New Association.*

What can any Man expect when the peaceable part of the Nation are called † Bloody, those that spent their Blood against Popery Enacted against to prevent the Growth of Popery; they that stood to the Defence of their Country, when some of them that applauded this Law ran away and deserted it, made incapable and thought unfit to be trusted with the Civil Administration in that Country they so bravely defended.

† *Sachevral's Oxford Sermon.*

What can the largest Charity think is in the bottom of all this, when we see a Party in Travel with a monstrous Birth? In *England* the Toleration Act to be kept inviolable, yet severe Penalties to be inflicted on Dissenters. In *Ireland*, to prevent the Growth of Popery, the Dissenters must be treated as Men most dangerous and suspected, notwithstanding their Zeal for the Protestant Interest, so conspicuous in the defence of that Country. When Men strain their Reason to reconcile such Contradictions, we may expect the Birth will disclose something which at present they would be loath to own as legitimate. No Men stretch their Reason, and act beyond the common Rate of Creatures, but on extraordinary Occasion; such preposterous Dealings as these would not have been practis'd with any People in the World, if there were not a Figure, *A Meosis* in it, something more Intended than is Express'd.

It cannot be that the Dissenters in *Ireland*, who of all the People of that Nation ventur'd with the greatest Obstinacy and Resolution to defend their Country, and the Protestant Religion against Popery, can be concern'd in a Bill to *prevent the Growth of Popery*; such Contradictions must be big with some other Birth; there must be some Plot against the Dissenters *as such*, and the hedging them into an Act for *preventing the Growth of Popery*, must be either a meer Indignity put upon them to render them Odious and Contemptible to the World, or a Fraud, a Concealment to blind the Eyes of the Dissenters that it might pass without their Notice, since no one could imagine it could be possible an Act to *prevent the Growth of Popery*, could have any thing in it that could affect the Dissenters, than whom none were more violent against Popery on all Occasions, or more ready to expose themselves for the defence of their Country and the Protestant Religion.

But however unkind or mysterious this Matter is, so it appears; and in order to lay open the Case, so as to let the World judge of it, and to make out the Hardships, which with Submission to our Superiours, we think the Dissenters in *Ireland* lye under, 'tis necessary,

1. To enter into the Particulars, examine the Fact, and see what it is that is done to the Dissenters in *Ireland*, with the Manner and Circumstances.
2. Enquire into the Behaviour of the Dissenters in *Ireland*, and see what they have done to deserve such Treatment, and what Reason they had to expect better.
3. Examine whether the present Usage has not been against the real Design of the Church of *Ireland*, and what has been done by them to shew their Concern at it, or their Forwardness to give them an Equivalent.

4. Examine what natural Consequences may be expected from such a Treatment of the Dissenters, and what the Detriment to the whole Nation.

1. As to the Matter of Fact, the short Abridgment of it is as follows.

The Protestants in *Ireland* had many Years labour'd under the Encroachments of the Papists, they had been once most horridly Massacred to the number of 200000, and the rest Plundred and driven from their Settlements and Possessions in the Year 1641.

In the last War they ran a Fate equal to the first, *the Massacre excepted*, and as will be farther observed, in these Extremities, the little City of *Derry* was the only place of Refuge for the Protestants, and a Sanctuary which the Papists could never drive them out of with all their Force, and where they found such Resistance as gave all the World reason to know, that the aversion between the Dissenters and the Papists was as constant as great, and as irreconcilable as possible, and served to encrease the Wonder, That the Dissenters should, of all People in the World, be look'd upon as Persons in the same Class *with the Papists*, and Enacted against in a Bill to prevent *the Growth of Popery*.

In order to secure the Protestants from the like Eruptions of Popery, several Bills had been offered in Parliament, to prevent the Growth and Encrease of that Power that had been so dangerous, and had struck twice at the Root of their Liberty and Religion.

But it had been the Misfortune of this Country to have such Bills, thro' one unhappy Accident or other, always to miscarry, either at home among themselves, or at the *English Court*, where the Native *Irish* always cultivated such an Interest as was too hard for the Protestants, and has been a means to deprive them of the Blessing of such Bills.

The

The late Glorious King *William*, who, at the hazard of his Royal Person, was the special Instrument of their second Redemption from the prevailing Power of the *Irish*, had such a peculiar Love for this Kingdom, as the Triumph of his own immediate Conduct and Valour, that he always studied its Welfare, and was ready to give Ear to any Proposal for its advantage.

But as that Prince, who had upon his Thought the universal good of Mankind, had no sooner recovered one Kingdom from Destruction, but he had another upon his Hands; (his whole Reign being embarrass'd with the perpetual Cares of serving Ungrateful Nations,) so the Protestants found the Settlement of Affairs in *Ireland* so perplex'd, and the Reassumption of Grants ready to bring a new Difficulty on the Stage; and in all this time they found no Opportunity to offer at the Settlement and Security of their Interest and Religion, as they expected and desir'd.

But when they saw the Disorders pretty well over, and the loss of their glorious Benefactor so happily supply'd, by the Accession of her present Majesty Queen *Anne*.

When to their great Comfort and Satisfaction, they saw the early Care her Majesty took of all her Protestant Subjects, her Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and the powerful Assistance she prepared to give it in all parts of *Europe* where she saw it oppress'd.

When they saw themselves bless'd with such a Lord Lieutenant, who by reason of his great Possessions among them, *besides the Native Inclination*, his Grace the Duke of *Ormond* always discovered to Acts of Generosity, had powerful Obligations of Care and Respect upon him for the Kingdom of *Ireland* in particular; such a Governour as the People of *Ireland* always lov'd and long'd for, and than whom, none ever was, or could be sent thither more inclin'd, or better prepared to improve all her Majesty's gracious Inten-

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tions of Good to the Kingdom, in the highest manner
her Majesty could desire or the People expect.

This, of all the critical Junctures that ever hap-
pen'd to this Kingdom, seem'd *the happy opportunity*,
put into their Hands by a special Providence, to ob-
tain the Settlement and Security of the Protestant Re-
ligion, which they and their Ancestors had spent so
much Blood and Treasure to procure, and the want
of which had been attended with so many fatal Con-
sequences.

In order to this, among the several Bills presented
by the Parliament to his Grace the Lieutenant, in the
second Year of his Government, to be by him trans-
mitted to *London*, and to be pass'd in the Council
there, *according to the Settlement*, there was one par-
ticular Bill, Entituled, *An Act to prevent the Growth
of Popery*.

That the greater solemnity might add to the Value
of it, and that it might appear of what Consequence
the Parliament of *Ireland* thought this Act, the Speak-
er, attended by the whole House, waited on the Lord
Lieutenant of *Ireland* to present this Bill, and in a par-
ticular manner recommended it to his Care; at the
same time acquainting his Grace, that the House had
sufficient Grounds to believe the *Irish* Papists had
rais'd a Sum of Money in the Kingdom, to manage
their Sollicitations against this Bill, in order to pre-
vent its return out of *England*.

His Grace, to his Glory may it be remembred, had
that Care of the Protestant Religion, that Concern
for the good of *Ireland*, and that special Regard for
the Recommendation of the Parliament, that sending
the Bill to *England*, and backing it with his powerful
and hearty Sollicitations at the Court of *England*, he
prevented the Papists; and notwithstanding the op-
position they made, obtained the Bill to be approved,
and returned to the unspeakable Joy, and no less Sur-
prize of the whole Body of Protestants in the King-
dom.

But

But this Joy was exceedingly lessened, when upon the reading the Bill they found to their Amazement, among the Clauses for security of the Protestants and weakning the Power of Popery, a Clause put in to oblige all the Protestant Dissenters in *Ireland*, that have any Place, Office, or Power from the Government, to conform to the Church of *Ireland*, and receive the Sacrament after the usage thereof, or else to be Disabled or Incapacitated for the Service of their Country.

The Protestants of the Church of *Ireland*, who tho' they were zealous for the Establish'd Church, were yet sensible of the Power of the Papists, and how useful on all Occasions the Protestant Dissenters had been in helping them to oppose Popery, were extremely concern'd at this; they remember'd their Power, tho' united, had been twice too weak to resist the Papists, and that therefore it was a most unhappy piece of unseasonable Policy, to weaken the Church by depriving them of the Assistance of so great a Body of Protestants, or at least disobliging them.

They foresaw that this Clause would endanger the loss of the Bill, since it would engage the Dissenters with all their Interest to oppose it, as the Papists they were sure already would do.

They foresaw this Clause would alarm the Dissenters, and make them judge their faithful Services in the Siege of *London-Derry*, at *Inniskilling*, and other places ill rewarded, and break that Harmony which with so much Charity and Tendernefs had been reciprocally maintained between Conformists and Dissenters in *Ireland*.

In Consideration of these things, almost all People were under great Concern, and not a few thought it very unkind to the Dissenters, and a Requital of their faithful Services at the Siege of *London-Derry* at *Inniskilling*, and other places, in a manner very unsuitable to their Merits.

I choose to mention here the Concern the Conforming Protestants were in at this Clause, not only to testify their Zeal for the Bill of Security against Popery, which they were afraid by this Clause would be lost, but also to witness for them, as they had no hand in, nor any Design to bring such a thing upon the Dissenters, so the Church of *Ireland* has on many Occasions express'd, and at all times for above twenty Years past practis'd, all the Charity and Easiness to the dissenting Protestants that can be desired among Christians; agreeing in all Capital Points of Religion, and particularly embark'd in one and the same bottom of Interest and publick Safety.

When this Bill came to be Read in the House, it met with particular opposition from the Papists, who were heard by their Council, and who pleaded the Articles of *Limerick*, &c. and charged the Protestants with breach of Faith and Capitulations.

The Clause against the Dissenters was oppos'd by several worthy Members of the Protestant Church of *Ireland*, and a great many Learned Speeches were made on that Head.

And not to presume to publish a Relation of what was said by any particular Member, I am inform'd that near one hundred Gentlemen, all of the Church of *Ireland*, spoke with a great deal of Tendernefs and Concern for the Dissenters as too hardly dealt with, and too much affected with this Clause.

The Dissenters in the House were observ'd to make little or no opposition in this Case, but as the old Earl of *Strafford*, when being Attainted in Parliament, the King refusing to sign the Attainder, he gave his own consent to have his Head cut off to fix the Peace between his Majesty and his People; they choose rather to acquiesce with an Unhappiness laid on them, and suffer all the ill they saw coming upon them, than let such a Bill drop in the House, which they knew to be so much wanted against Popery, and which was of such a vast Benefit to the security of the Protestant

testant Interest in general, and the publick Quiet and Safety of the Kingdom.

Thus they sacrificed themselves and their Brethren for the publick Good of their Country, and were passive in their own Prejudices that the Bill might not be lost.

The Gentlemen, on the other side, on no Consideration desir'd to put these Hardships on the Dissenters, but saw themselves oblig'd to pass this Clause, or lose all the Advantages which were accruing to them by the other, so gave at last an unwilling Assent to the Bill, publicly declaring their Resolution, *To do something which should make the Dissenters as easie as they are in England*; and accordingly it was Resolv'd, *Nemine Contradicente*, the very next Day, that Heads of a Bill should be brought in to give the Dissenters the same Tolleration they enjoy in *England*; but the Session was so near a Conclusion that there was not time for that Bill to be brought in: And thus the Bill pass'd, and the Dissenters are thereby oblig'd to conform to the Church of *Ireland*, or to quit all the Service of their Country, and be turned out of every place of Trust or Profit in the Nation.

This is a short Abstract of the Fact as it now lies before us, the Consequences of this Act of Parliament, so far as it affects the Dissenters in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, may be guess'd at from the following Account of the proceedings upon this Act in the North parts, and particularly in the City of *London-Derry*.

The Province of *Ulster*, as is well known to all those who are acquainted with *Ireland*, is chiefly inhabited by *English* and *Scots*, and above two Thirds of them by computation are Protestant Dissenters.

How they have always behav'd themselves, both in Peace and War, both to their Enemies and to their Neighbours, both to the Government, and for the Government, will be considered in an Article by it self.

How they have now been Treated, with respect to this A^ct, comes under this Head, and will appear by the surprizing Proceedings with the Magistrates of *London-Derry*, and other places in *Ulster*.

In this Transaction its observable, how readily the very Effence of a Party, Humour, Spleen and Forwardness, may be difused into the Minds of Men, since notwithstanding the Tendernefs and Consideration of the Enactors, yet the Execution has not been managed with the same Spirit.

By this A^ct they have put out most of the Justices of the Peace in the Province of *Ulster*, for we do not hear of above one or two that have Qualified themselves, and for want of Gentlemen that are qualified, have been oblig'd to fill up the Commission of the Peace with Clergy-men; where by the way it may be noted, That the Phanaticks in *New England* are not the only People who make their Priests Magistrates, and have the Law and the Gospel under the management of the same Hand.

It was thought strange, that in those Counties they should be under Ecclesiastical Magistrates, and the Men of the Gown have both the Word of the Lord and the Sword of the State, instead of that of the Spirit to manage, and so in *Ireland* it might be thought as strange, that the antient Inhabitants, who spent their Fortunes, and hazarded their Lives in Defence of the whole Protestant Interest, are now not thought worthy to Govern what they so gallantly defended; but as People not fit to be trusted with that Peace which they saved in War, are laid by with Contempt, and their places not being to be filled up with Men of equal Worth and equal Figure, in part supplied with Youths, Strangers, new Comers, and Clergy men; Men of little Estates, and consequently having not so much Obligation on them to be concerned for the Good of the place; Persons that have little, if any thing, to recommend them to the Digni-

ty of Magistrates but their going to Church, with neither Fortunes, Interest or Qualification.

How far the Government is concerned, how far the Safety of the City, how far the Service of her Majesty is advanc'd in this way of Proceedings, Time, and the Consequences of Things, must determine, and avoiding any Reflections on the probability, 'tis left to the publick Consideration.

And since 'tis natural for all Persons, and even a Turk, that sees a Nation or a Party punished, exploded and unqualified by a Law would be ready to enquire what Crime they have been Guilty of, what Offence they have committed that should move the Government to throw them by as useless Persons, dismissing them as People not fit to be trusted and employed, it obliges us to fall in with the same Enquiry, and so go on with the second Head of this Argument, *viz.*

2. Enquire into the Behaviour of the Dissenters and see what they have done to deserve such a Treatment, and what reason they have to expect a better.

And because it is the Custom of all the Dissenters Enemies in *England*, who seek for Matter to charge them with, to go back to the Years of 41 to 48 and 60, and to rake into the Follies and Misfortunes of former Ages to seek for Arguments to brand the present, *a certain sign* the modern Behaviour of the Dissenters does not furnish sufficient Matter of blame to justify their present Treatment; yet in the Case of the Dissenters in *Ireland*, we are as willing as they to go back to those Times, and should be pleased to join Issue with them in searching out for the Rebellions, the Associations, the Factions, and the Disturbances the Dissenters in *Ireland* ever raised against their Prince.

It was one of the Objections against the late Earl of *Strafford* at his Tryal, That he propos'd the Army in *Ireland* to come over hither to the Assistance of his Majesty, as People of whose Fidelity he was sure of.

and

and several Regiments of them did afterwards come over, and fought for the King at the Battle of *Nantwich*, among whom were several Dissenters, and where General *Monk*, then but a Captain, was taken Prisoner, who was afterwards Instrumental in the Restoring the King.

In all the Civil Wars here in *Ireland*, we find none of these People up in Arms for the Parliament, but we find them zealously espousing the King's Quarrel, and contending with the *Sectaries*, as they themselves call'd them, who opposed the King here.

And as no Testimony of the good Deeds of a Person, or a Party, can come with such unexceptioned Authority as what has the concurring Testimony of their Enemies, we refer the Reader for the Particulars to the famous *Milton*, whose Pen must needs obtain Credit of our high Gentlemen since he Quarrels with the very Men they would quarrel with, and falls in with the fury of the Times, to expose those they would have exposed.

The Misfortune is, he Exposes the Presbyterians, Rails at and Accuses them of that as a Crime, the not doing which is the very Crime these Gentlemen would brand them for now.

Our Modern Authors would set a Mark on the Dissenters for fighting against, Dethroning and Murdering their King, Subverting the Constitution, and overthrowing the Government, here we find Mr. *Milton* exposing and defaming the Protestant Dissenters of *Ulster*, for not joining with his Party in those things, but fighting for their King, and endeavouring to prevent the very things for which these People are accused, and endeavouring to restore the Monarchy in the Son which they would not help to suppress in the Father.

To make out this, the Reader is referred to the particular Authors and their Writings, which are in every Library of any Value to be seen, the brevity of this

Traſt not allowing us to quote theſe things at large.

But we cannot omit to quote here the Representation of the Presbytery at *Belfast*, dated *Feb. 15. 1649.* wherein the Diſſenters of the North of *Ireland*, declare their deteſtation of all the Proceedings in *England*; *Milton's Works*, Fol. 566, 567.

“ What of late have been, and now are, the information and presumptuous Practices of the Sectaries in *England*, is not unknown to the World.

“ Moreover it is more than manifest, that they seek not the Vindication but the Extirpation of the Laws and Liberties, as appears by their seizing the Person of the King, their violent Surprizing, Imprisoning and Secluding many of the most worthy Members of the Honourable House of Commons: neither hath their Fury staid here, but without all Rule or Example, being but private Men, they have proceeded to the Tryal of the King, against both the Interest, Protestation and Publick Declarations of both Kingdoms, and with cruel Hands have put him to Death, an act so horrible as no History Divine or Humane hath laid a precedent of the like.

“ These and many other their detestable Insolencies, may abundantly convince any unbiass'd Judgment, that the present practices of the Sectaries and their Abettors, do directly overturn the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, root out lawful and supreme Magistracy, the just Priviledges whereof we have sworn to maintain, and Introduce a fearful Confusion and lawless Anarchy.

And in the subsequent Paragraphs as follows, *Fol. 562.*

“ When we consider these things, we cannot but declare and manifest our utter Dislike and Detestation
“ tion

"tion of all such unwarrantable Practises, directly
 "subverting our Religion, Laws and Liberties.

We farther refer the Readers for the Treatment these Dissenters met with in Print from their Brethren of *England* then in Power, to Mr. *Milton's* Observations on the Representation in the same Collection, in Fol. 553, 554, 555. where he treats them with the scandalous Terms of *Egregious Liars and Impostures, blockish Presbyterians*, and goes on to justify the putting the King to Death, all the way upbraiding them with Ignorance and Separation.

This Testimony sufficiently clears the Dissenters in *Ireland* from being concerned in any of the Councils of those Days, and the Histories of those Times which all People are left to peruse, are sufficient to prove how the Northern Protestants, being most of them Dissenters, were the most effectual Barriers of the Royal Interest at that time, and when all the rest of the Country was over-run with Popery, Blood and Desolation; were left as a Sanctuary to which the Duke of *Ormond* and the Royal Party retreated, that they endured all the Miseries of a long War, and defended themselves with the same Vigor and Obstinacy as they did in the City of *Derry* in the late Time, till they were reduced by absolute Force and the Current of the Times, being conquer'd and oppress'd by the prevailing Party under *Oliver Cromwel*, together with all the rest of the Kingdom.

But as these things are so well known to all the World, as not to require that we should repeat them, it remains to examine what Sense the Royal Family had of their Behaviour in those Times, and what greater Testimony can be desired than is naturally deduc'd from the Bounty of King *Charles* the Second after his Restoration, in the Grant whereof it will appear, and to which for a proof of this the Reader is referr'd, that for the good Services rendred by the Protestant Dissenters of *Ulster* to his Royal Father,

and afterwards to himself; and in regard to the great Sufferings they had undergone in the time of the Wars, the King grants the Sum of 800 *l.* Sterling *per Annum* for the support of the Dissenting Ministers in the said Provinces.

This Grant was made soon after the Restoration, the Mony was constantly paid out of the Revenue of *Ireland* all the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, and was continued till the Revolution, and the Interruption of the last War; it was afterwards renewed by King *William* of glorious Memory, was augmented by the late Queen *Mary's* special Bounty to 1200 *l.* *per Annum*, and was lately, *viz.* in the second Year of her present Majesty retrench'd by the Parliaments Authority, not upon any failure of Duty charg'd on the Protestant Dissenters, or any Branch of the Queens Esteem; but among other Grants and Pensions, which in Consideration of the impoverish'd State of the Kingdom, the pressure of the present War, and the great Exigencies of the State, the Commons thought fit to suspend for a Season.

This may serve for a short Representation of the Behaviour of the Protestants, Dissenters in *Ireland*, and to clear them from all that Reproach with which their Brethren in *England* seem to be loaden, and consequently serves to make it out, that there could not be the same Reasons why such Provisionary Laws should be made against them, since People always Loyal, rewarded and acknowledged as such by our Kings, and who have suffered so deeply for it, cannot without an inexcusable breach both in Charity and good Manners, be supposed to give any cause of Jealousie, or to make it necessary for us to couple them with Papists in our Acts of Security.

I refer for the Proof of these Matters to the Testimony of *Milton* aforesaid, their profest Enemy, who in his Observations on their unchristian Representation as he calls it, falls on them in their Terms, *Milton's Works*, Fol. 551.

“ Nay,

Nay, while we are writing these things, and
 foretelling all Men the Rebellion which was even
 then design'd by these unhallow'd Priests, at the
 same time when with their Lips they are disclaim-
 ing all Sedition, News is brought, and too true,
 that the *Scotch* Inhabitants of that Province are ac-
 tually Revolted, and have not only besieged in
London-Derry those Forces which were to have
 fought against *Ormond*, but have in a manner be-
 gan open War against the Parliament, and all this
 by the Incitement and Illusions of that unchristian
 Synagogue the Presbytery at *Belfast*.

As this is sufficient to declare their Behaviour in
 those Days, so we have no less Authority to prove
 their hearty Union with the Church of *Ireland*, in de-
 fence of the Protestant Religion in the late War, and
 their Tendernefs of, and Charity to the Ministers of
 the Church, when oppress'd by the Papists; and for
 this we refer to that known and unexceptionable Hi-
 story, call'd, *The State of the Protestants in Ireland*
under the late King James his Government; written by
 the learned Dr. King, Bishop of *Derry*, and now Lord
 Archbishop of *Dublin*; wherein his Lordship with an
 unexampled Generosity, telling us of the Reasons of
 the Clergy of *Ireland* abandoning the Country and
 their Cures in many places, has these Words,

" I do confess that there was no reason to complain
 " of the People's backwardness to maintain the Cler-
 " gy, on the contrary they contributed to the utmost
 " of their Power, and made no distinction of Sects;
 " many Dissenters Contributing liberally to this good
 " End, which ought to be remembered to their Honour.
 Archbishop King's *State of Ireland*, page 231.

It cannot be denied but that this is an Authentick
 Certificate of their Charity to the Church, as the o-

ther of their Loyalty to their King, and how it has been *remembered to their Honour*, is left to all impartial Judgments, who please to give themselves the trouble to review the Consequences of the Bill lately pass'd; by which they have rank'd their Charitable Brethren amongst their worst Enemies, and chain'd them to a Compulsion as a means *to prevent the growth of Popery*.

And being brought by this Article to the late War, after the Confession of so eminent a Branch of the Church of *Ireland*, with respect to their Charity, it is fit a little to examine their Behaviour in the late Siege of *Derry*, and the several Actions at *Innis-killing*.

To make out this : Was this Paper confin'd to *Ireland*, and were we writing to none but our own Country-men, it were easie to appeal to the knowledge of thousands yet alive, in whose Memory it must yet be very fresh, with what undistinguish'd Charity and Alacrity the Dissenters join'd with their Brethren of the Church, in the mutual defence of Religion and Liberty, how they went Hand in Hand into the Field, and Hand in Hand to the Grave, fighting for one another, and their dear Families and Religion.

What tho' they have not the Arrogance to enter upon any distinguishing Circumstances, in which they might go beyond their Brethren, yet since the Church themselves will not assume a pretence to have out-gone them, we hope their Modesty in that Case cannot tend to their Prejudice.

We therefore avoid so ungrateful a strife as it must be, to find out and fix the Particulars in which one Party excell'd another; 'tis enough to both their Honour, that they strove to out-do themselves and one another, as they plainly did all the rest of the Kingdom in Acts of Gallantry and Courage, in a free open handed contributing to one anothers Wants, and supplying all People concern'd in the defence of the Nation, and in the Personal Bravery in the defence of the place.

Not

Nor are we afraid to enter into a List of the Numbers of the People of either sort slain in that Siege; if they are two Dissenters to one Church-man, they cannot take it ill that we do not boast of it.

The several Magistrates of the City of *Derry*, now turned out of Commission by this Act, as not safe to be trusted, are too Modest to furnish us with an Account how much Money each of them expended in Provisions, Stores, and Charity for the Defence of the Town; and the Editor of this is forc'd to boast for them, without Reflections on any, that some of them have disburst greater Sums than many of their Successors are in Condition to spare, if there should be the like occasion.

The Testimony given by Authority to their Behaviour, in the defence of their Country, and the Protestant Religion, is an unquestion'd Proof of the just Claim they have to the Title of Loyal, and Faithful Valiant Subjects, and is a perfect Contradiction to the Notion of obtaining Security against them as against Papists, and coupling them with the known Enemies of the Nation.

The late Queen *Mary*, a Name both Nations have an equal Veneration for, and which we cannot name without a Sigh, had so true a Sense on her Mind, of the Courage and Fidelity of the Dissenters in *Derry*, that she gave them a Mark of her Royal Favour in Money, to be employ'd to rebuild their Market House, and to erect a new Meeting house in that City.

Nor let us do Injustice to the Church and Gentry, or Clergy of the Church of *Ireland*; 'tis most certain it never enter'd into the Hearts of the Conforming Protestants of this Kingdom, to impose these Hardships upon their Brethren, much less did they imagine to have it included in their Bill to prevent the Growth of Popery.

Nothing so hard, nothing so ungrateful, could enter into the Hearts of the Church in this Kingdom, who could not but remember what the Dissenters had done to deserve, and from whence they might expect better Usage.

They could not but have it fresh in their Memories, how they had relieved their Clergy in distress, harboured their banish'd, diverted their Forces of the Enemy, and defended the remnant of the Kingdom against Popery.

They could not forget the Slaughter made of the *Irish* Army under the Walls of *Derry*, and how that bold stand, made by such a handful of Men, aw'd the Enemy, encourag'd Friends, and made way for the Conquests of King *William*, by securing to him all the North of *Ireland*; by which means he had leisure to March directly to the *Boyn*, and there put the whole Fortune of *Ireland* upon one decisive Batrel; and by beating the *Irish* there delivered this Nation, which he could not have done had the Province of *Ulster* been at his back possess'd by his Enemies, who would have cut off his Provisions, and exceedingly straitned his Quarters.

'Twould be endless to reckon up all the brave Actions done in this War by the Dissenters, own'd by the King himself, acknowledg'd by the Archbishop of *Dublin*, rewarded by the Queen, and consider'd by the Parliament.

From all these things I cannot but be of the Opinion, the Dissenters in *Ireland* had a great deal of reason to expect better Treatment, and had indeed a just Claim to the same brotherly Charity they shew'd to the Church.

And here they cannot but lament in themselves the evil of the Times, when they should meet with such usage after all their Services done, and Duty express'd, that contrary to the true Sentiments of the Church of *Ireland*, after an Acknowledgment of one of the Primates of the Clergy, that it ought to be re-

member'd

member'd to their Honour, it should at last be remembered to their Infamy, and the Dissenters be counted with the number of the Nations Enemies, and included in a Law for the general Security.

And it cannot but be observ'd here, the Earl of N—— could not be ignorant of the Acknowledgment made by the Archbishop, in the Case of the Dissenters Kindness to the Clergy, which it was his Graces Opinion, ought to be remember'd with Honour, since his Imprimatur being to that Book, his Lordship could not but have perus'd the Book, unless we should advance a Notion too mean for a Man of his Capacity and Prudentials, *viz.* That his Lordship put his Imprimatur to it, not having read it over, and so Licens'd he knew not what.

We come now to the Third General Head, *viz.*

To examine the Effects this ill Step upon the Dissenters may have, with the particular Circumstances that aggravate it several ways, and as we go, to make some needful Remarks: As,

1. How full of Vicissitudes are Humane Things, Times Turn-about, Men and Parties change Principles, *Nos & mutamur in illis.* The Lord Bishop of Derry, a Man of Temper and Moderation, being well treated by the Dissenters, recommends it *To be remember'd to their Honour*; but my Lord Archbishop of Dublin grown quite a new Man, flying in the Face of all their Merit, and embracing Principles which are destructive of the Rights and Liberties of the very People they Rule, prompts with all possible Zeal a Persecution of Spirit, to the Ruin and Injury of those very People of whom, by the E—— of N——'s leave, he had said all those things before.

2. Here we cannot but observe, how change of things will change Clergy-men, and other Men too, make moderate Bishops turn violent Archbishops, make

make Men forget when the Storm's over, the Vows they made in the time of its Violence.

Some have had ill Nature enough to compare this with the Practises of some of the *English* Clergy, who in the same times of Trouble in *England*, promised to come to a Temper with the Dissenters, in order to draw them off from closing with King *James*, and the extraordinary Advantages he offer'd them, and have since been pleased to forget very much of that Temper, and pursue the same Dissenters with ill Language, persecuting Laws, and the like.

'Tis unhappy for the Dissenters however, that this Unchristian Spirit should be convey'd into this Nation, where all liv'd in Peace and Union, and began to cultivate the happy Fruits of Charity and good Neighbourhood.

'Tis presumed the Church of *Ireland* had nothing of this in their Thoughts, and are not pleased with it now they have it, as they cannot but see that it is the beginning of intestine Strife, and a Bone of Contention, Emulation and Unchristian Discord among us, dividing us into Parties, sowing and dissatisfying thousands of Protestants, as good Subjects, as Loyal to the Queen, as faithful to her Interest, and without Vanity, as able to render her Service as any her Majesty has in these Parts.

And tho' we are assur'd nothing will be able to extort from the Dissenters any thing, either in Word or Action, Undutiful or Disrespectful to her Majesty or her Government; yet 'tis no Breach of Duty to observe, that it is a great Discouragement to the Trade and Prosperity of this Kingdom, as it will occasion many wealthy Families to abandon their Country where they are used so ill, and will at least not invite other Families to settle here in their room, where they are sure to be treated with Jealousie and Disrespect.

It cannot but be allow'd by any Persons who have the least Knowledge of publick Matters, that to drive the People away from any Country, is so far from impoverish that Country; and of all Methods of Government it is the most Impolitick, since the Wealth of a Nation depends upon the Multitude of its Inhabitants: But of all Countries in *Europe*, this distressed Kingdom, that has twice now, in the space of sixty Years, been in a manner Depopulated by the most bloody and inhumane Wars, two Wars that have been more particularly destructive to the Inhabitants than may be expected to happen in like Cases, and which have destroyed such incredible Numbers, that 'tis a wonderful thing to see there should be any People left to cultivate and manage the Earth; the least of these Wars having, by the Judgment of moderate Computators, kill'd, or driven beyond the Seas, above 400000 of the Inhabitants of this Kingdom.

We shall not presume to foretel, or enter into Reasons, why great Numbers of the Inhabitants in this Kingdom will remove themselves and Effects, upon the melancholly Prospect of Persecution, and the Discouragement receiv'd by this Treatment.

But it cannot but be allow'd, that to make them uneasie in their Consciences, or deprive them of the Honours and Trust which ever since the settling of this Kingdom they have enjoy'd in common with their Brethren of the Church, will be far from inviting other Families to come thither and settle, and so keep them as thin of People as the War has left them.

The Advantage this will be to *Scotland*, whither the Dissenters in these Parts must of course retreat, and where they talk very big of erecting and improving the *English* Manufacture: As it is a Subject which affords many Speculations, so it can be no Trespas upon Reason to say, we believe the Gentlemen who contriv'd this Law, would not like it the better

better for its being a means of Enriching or Encouraging the *Scots*.

As to the Church of *Ireland*, tho' the Dissenters are as we think unkindly treated, we cannot but acquit them, as a *Body*, of being any way guilty of this thing, and crave leave to lay this Grievance where it really lies.

First, By the Church of *Ireland* we mean, the Protestant Nobility, Gentry and common People, Inhabitants of this Kingdom conforming to the Church.

And these being unconcern'd, appear'd, as has been already noted, in a great Surprise; it was perfectly a strange thing to them when they found their Bill come back clog'd with such a Clause as was unwelcome to them both; and had not the Dissenters in the House acquiesced, for the publick Good, had they danger'd the Loss of their Bill.

If any Man will suggest, That it was solicited privately by the Clergy of the Church of *Ireland* they must at the same time fly in the Face of the Lord Archbishop of *Dublin*, and charge all the Clergy of *Ireland* with very much Ingratitude to treat those Men so ill, who by the Confession of the said Archbishop deserv'd to have their Charity and Kindness to their Brethren *remembered to their Honour*.

It can therefore lie no where but among the Enemies of the Dissenters, who for the Gratification of their private Malice, or for the carrying on of some private Design, have misrepresented them at the Court of *England*, and causing all their Submissions and past Services to be forgotten, prevailed to have them treated as Enemies and dangerous Persons, to that Government which they had so often and so faithfully defended.

If the E—— of N—— had been pleas'd to remember his Imprimatur to the Book of his Grace of *Dublin*, as in Honour most Men think he was bound, he would certainly have made a generous Representation of the Dissenters Case to the *English* Court.

And we hope we cannot be guilty of Presumption saying, that whoever they were that promoted this Cause, and whatsoever their Reasons might be, they cannot pretend that in it they pursued her Majesty's Interest, or indeed her own genuine or glorious Design, which appears from her own Royal Mouth to be the Good, the Peace and Prosperity of all her Protestant Subjects, since to oppress a Party of them, and persecute them for their Religion, at a time when her Majesty has declar'd her Royal Intentions the contrary, can never be agreeable to her Majesty's Pleasure, nor could ever have been obtain'd without some Misrepresentation of her Majesty's Royal and Faithful Subjects.

Farther, 'tis our Opinion that the Church of *Ireland*, as before describ'd, cannot be the Agents of this Treatment, because 'tis apparent the Sense both of what the Dissenters have done and suffer'd, for the Security and Preservation of that Church, would have given all its moderate Members such Satisfaction, and made them so easy with the Dissenters, and the Dissenters with them, that the Peace and Union which her Majesty has so earnestly recommended to her Subjects in *England*, seem'd to be arriv'd to a Perfection in *Ireland*.

To the Papists in particular there appear'd no difference, Protestants were always treated alike as Enemies, and always heartily concerned themselves for one another in their mutual Defence.

'Tis no Vanity to say, the Church-men could not have defended themselves against the Papists without the Dissenters; and we need appeal to no body but themselves for the Truth of it; we need ask none of the Church men, whether the Dissenters did not both in their Persons and Purfes heartily join with them, and if they should be so disingenuous as to deny it, the Papists themselves would confess it for them.

The Dissenters assisting them, and relieving them both Clergy and Laity, in their Flight and Distress is fairly and honourably own'd by the Church, and by one of the most eminent of their Dignified Clergy his Grace the Lord Archbishop of *Dublin*, as has been already noted.

Nor can we forbear to mention, to the Honour of the Church of *Ireland*, that they have been so sensible of this, and so far from expressing any Heat, or Breach of Charity, so far from inclining to a persecuting Temper, or from envying, or molesting the Dissenters in their Conscientious Liberties, that they have enjoy'd a perfect and entire Liberty, tho' without a Toleration by a Law, and this Liberty, to the Honour of the Church of *Ireland* Protestants, was found free from all those Heart-burnings, Insultings, Lampoons and Reproaches, which their Neighbours have been treated with on that account; they liv'd together in Charity, good Neighbourhood, and settled friendly Correspondence.

And as the Church of *Ireland* of their mere Inclination gave to the Dissenters an undisturb'd Liberty of Conscience, so on the other hand the Dissenters manifested their entire Confidence in the Christian Temper and Moderation of the Church, and never solicited the Obligation of a Law to the Toleration of their Religious Worship; they knew they had oblig'd the Church to the height, and always frankly joy'd their Hearts and Hands to defend them, and as they found no ungrateful Usage they fear'd none; and thus they lived together in full Confidence of one another, and as they never expected this Act, so we firmly believe it was the remotest thing in the World from their Thought to put any such thing upon the Publick, the joyning the Dissenters with the Nation's Enemies, and ranking them with those they ought to be afraid of.

If any Man should ask now what will be the End of all this Hardship and ill Usage, *which is the Foundation*

head, the Author of this answers, there cannot be
 place in the Compass of these Sheets to enumerate all
 the unhappy Consequences of this Matter; nor may
 be fit to suggest what we ought to fear on this Ac-
 count. But as far as may consist with Reason, we
 answer

1. Negatively.

Nothing Tumultuous, nothing Disobedient or Un-
 dutiful to her Majesty, whose Inclination we have
 abundant Reason to know, is entirely set to promote
 the Peace of all her Dominions, and the general Uni-
 ty of all her People. We should not presume to
 note the Address from the Presbyterian Ministers of
 the North of Ireland, and how they boast to her Ma-
 jesty in these Words, *According to our known Princi-
 ples of Loyalty*, were it not known to her Majesty,
 and even to the Dissenters Enemies that nothing has
 ever been able to shake their Fidelity to the *English*
 Crown; and that their Principles have never been
 tainted with Disobedience or Disaffection, either
 in the Persons or Government of our Protestant
 Princes.

Therefore as the worst of the Dissenters Enemies
 cannot suggest any thing Undutiful of them, with
 the least Shadow of Reason; so they will be effectua-
 ly disappointed in their Expectations, that any
 hardships put upon the Dissenters, of what sort, or
 by what Means, Contrivance, or Procurement soever,
 will drive them, either by Word or Action, to ex-
 press the least Disrespect to her Majesty's Person or
 Government, much less to show any Undutiful, Di-
 turbing, or Factious Resentment.

Nor can the Appeal made to all the World in the
 publication of these Sheets, in Behalf of the Dissen-
 ters, signify any such thing, being no other than a
 stating the Case in a true Light; that, if possible, the
 Eyes of the Nation's Representatives or Governours
 being open'd, they may become Advocates for them,
 and humble Petitioners with them to her Majesty,

to

to repeal that Part of this Act that treats them in such a manner, that they may no longer, *without any Desert of their own*, lie under so heavy a Burthen, as being misrepresented to their Prince, and being counted Dangerous to that State they so zealously and ardently fought for, and engag'd their Lives and Fortunes to save.

2. *Not Peace and Union.* For as such a Law cannot but Sower and Discompose the Parties, and make one side always regret the Wrong they think done them; so on the other Hand, it rouses the Evil Spirit of Malice and Envy in those, who had before no Inclination to insult their Brethren. The Lord Falkland, in his Speech to the Parliament, tells them that the Church had destroy'd Union under Pretence of Uniformity. *Rush. Coll. Vol. 2. Fol. 1342.* To plain, that there was no Strife of Parties before, but *Peace and Union* were their Pleasure and their Boast.

If any shall attempt to tell us what a Learned Author advanc'd in *England*, that this would establish Peace and Union, it must be referr'd to the Example of the North of *Ireland*, where this Law is likely to fill a peaceable Nation with all the Constant, but fatal Attendants of contending Parties, to the Breach of that Union, Peace, Charity, and Temper which reign'd in the Hearts of all her Majesty's Subjects, or what Perswasion soever.

Certainly Oppression of Consciences, or Deprivation of Benefits for the Sake of Conscience, can never be a means of uniting Parties. 'Tis impossible any Party can be easy to see known Loyalty of Principles suspected, unbroken Duty and untainted Affection treated with Doubts, and enacted against as dangerous.

Either the Dissenting Protestants of *Ireland* are dangerous to the Government, there is something to be fear'd from them, or the Act would be preposterous, and there can be no Reason assign'd for the making

king it; and joyning them with the Enemies of the Nation would be barbarous and unchristian. But the worst Enemy they cannot charge them with one Action, either in Memory or in History, in Modern or in Antient Time, that can make them so much as look like Men dangerous to the Government, or from whom something is to be fear'd. *Ergo*

If then this Act has divided those Protestants into Parties who were united before, has fill'd them with Heats, Animosities and Repinings at one another that were in perfect Peace before, will any Man say we are in the wrong in saying among the Effects of this Bill negatively, *Not Peace and Union*.

Discontenting any one sort of People to please another, suppressing one Part to raise another, setting one Party above another; these can never be made use of as Arguments to prove that Peace will be the Effect; and above all it is plain it will never bring it to pass.

Peace and Union are the Native Produce of easy Laws, Plenty, and Prosperity; People are apt to be pleased when they are easy, when they enjoy their Rights, and when an Equality of the Government sways all Parties; but if there is a Byass in the ruling Powers against or for one Party more than another, 'tis natural for the oppress'd Party to envy or repine at the other. It breeds ill Blood, it boils in the Breast of the Party, and 'tis impossible it should be otherwise; and therefore 'tis not to be expected that any of the Consequences of this Act can be Peace and Union.

3. *Not the Increase of Trade.* This is apparent, for that the People of all Governments Trade freest when they are easy. Trade always declines in Governments where the People are not easy; and any one might see it in *London*, during a certain time when a particular Bill was on-foot in the House; Stocks, Publick Credit and Actions of Companies always rose and fell as that Bill did, or did not go for-

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ward

ward in the House : What Joy in Trade, what Rise of Stocks, what a Flux of Credit was in that Nation at the Demise of that Bill!

We have indeed no Banks, *East India* Companies, or Publick Stocks in *Ireland* to feel the sensible Injury done to Trade ; but if any Man will ask whether the Dissenters, who are some of the principal Traders in that Kingdom, will launch out the farther, and embark the more heartily in Trade for being Dishonour'd, Disfranchis'd, Disheartned and Supprest ; it is a Question that needs very little Answer, and what the meanest Understanding in the World would give a Negative to with little or no Hesitation.

Can it be, that the Dissenters should wish well to that Country, where notwithstanding their constant steady Loyalty, their universal Engaging in its Defence, the Expence of their Blood and Estates in opposing Popery, they should be now suspected as dangerous to its Welfare, turn'd out of all Honours, Trusts or Profits in the Neighbourhood, and look'd upon as Persons unsafe to be trusted in any Publick Employment. Such Treatment can never be attractive of the Affections and the Love of the Dissenters ; they cannot study the Prosperity of a Country where they are us'd with so much ungrateful Distinction.

If then their Affections to the Place may justly be chang'd by unkind Treatment, the Transposing themselves, their Stocks and Families into other Parts is a Consequence we may say more to afterwards ; but the Trade following the Traders, by Consequence the Country will sink in its People, Wealth, and Trade.

There are more Negatives which might be insisted on here, when we are enquiring into the Consequences of this Act ; as

4. *No Reputation to the Church of Ireland*, to Persecute those People of whom the Arch-Bishop of *Dublin* has recorded in Print, that their Kindness and Charity to her Clergy in their Flight and Distress deserves to be remembered to their Honour. Ingratitude can

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be no Reputation either to a Party or Church, any more than to a single Person; and though the Protestant Dissenters of *Ireland* do acquit the Church *as such* of contriving this Hardship, yet the Scandal will for ever lie on the Church of *Ireland*, so far as they dip their Hands in the unhappy *if rigorous* Execution of it.

Nor will this ever tend to the Reputation of the Govern— of *Ireland*.—To say they were impos'd upon any where is to say nothing; for though 'tis not a Man's Fault that he is impos'd upon, 'tis a Disreputation to him to be impos'd on: And the farther those Arguments are true which acquit the Gentry and the Church of *Ireland* of designing this Mischief to the Protestant Dissenters, the farther this Disreputation of their Conduct will appear.

If they had no hand in the Contrivance of this Clause, if it was sent back with that Clause incerted without the Privy or Knowledge of any of the Governing Party in this Kingdom, either in Church or State, this may acquit them of Ingratitude to the Dissenters, but it can never acquit them of being impos'd upon somewhere: And if they had furnish'd themselves with Courage and Honour enough to have represented back the Services, the Fidelity and Loyalty of the Dissenters, and their Debt of Kindness and Charity to them; if all this had been laid before her Majesty, we cannot doubt but such Orders would have been given by her Majesty's Gracious Direction, as are suitable to that Tenderness she has always express'd to her People in General, and as we know to be the Innate and Hereditary Quality of our Sovereign.

Nay had our Clergy represented to the Right Honourable the E--- of N--- then Secretary of State, and through whose Hands this Law, with this unhappy additional Clause must pass, had they represented to his Lordship the Kindness, Charity and Goodness which the Dissenters shew'd to their persecuted Bre-

thren, recorded, as is noted, by the Archbishop of *Dublin*; had they reminded him that his Lordship's *Imprimatur* is to the Book, and that himself pass'd it into the World; that his Lordship has thereby own'd to all the World that *it ought to be remember'd of the Dissenters to their Honour*, that they reliev'd the Clergy of the Church in their Suffering without Distinction--- had his Lordship been referr'd back to this Testimony, under his own Hand, he is a Gentleman of too much Justice and Honour ever to have forwarded such a Bill, without humbly laying it before her Majesty, that to his Knowledge they deserv'd better Treatment.

It can therefore never be reckon'd up to the Honour and Reputation of the G-----t or Clergy in *Ireland*, that they should represent the Case to the Court of *England*, use their Interest to obtain such a Remission as, in Gratitude for Service done, and Love express'd, they ow'd to the Dissenters. And all we can say for them on that Head, is the great Concern they were in for the Loss of the Needful Security against Popery, together with Resolutions to make the Dissenters some future Amends, which may something extenuate the thing.

5. Another Negative may be thus express'd. This will certainly be no Encouragement to the Dissenters to joyn with their Brethren in their mutual Defence the next time the Papists shall please to take Arms, and attempt their Throats.

Not but that perhaps they may be Fools enough, as they always were, to stand in the Gap, and 'tis plain they have actually sav'd the Church of *Ireland* from Ruin; but it cannot be that they have any Arguments to move them to it from this Bill. If they had no other Inducements, they could never be thought to be mov'd to it from this Law.

If ever the Papists in *Ireland* should rebel and commence a new Massacre, as 'tis known they have good Will enough to do, and the Protestants of the Church

of

of *Ireland*, taking Arms to defend themselves, should say to the Dissenters, Come *help the Lord against the Mighty*; and the Dissenters should say, " No, Gentlement, we are not fit to be trusted, we were not fit to be Mayors or Justices, Custom house or Excise Officers, Aldermen or Common-Councilmen for fear of the Growth of Popery, pray take Care of it your selves; we were not to be trusted with Commissions in your Army, or your Country *Militia*, pray fight by your selves; we were not to be intrusted in your Stores, pray be your own Gunners; we'll have no Hand in it; you are able no doubt to beat the *Irish* without us, pray don't trouble us about it, 'tis none of our Business, you took it out of our Hands by Act of Parliament.

We are content to appeal to all the World whether such an answer as this would not be *Lex Talionis*, would not be fair and just in the Dissenters; and whether indeed, all things consider'd, they ought not to act thus, and answer thus, if ever the Case came to the Crisis, and they should be tried as they have been already---- Would not all the World call them Fools, to do any thing again that merits *to be remember'd to their Honour*---- If this be the Church's Method of *remembering Favours*, if this be their *Returns of Gratitude*, let them fight for them next time that dare trust their Temper.

And here, with Submission, there appears some Inconsistency in the very Act it self; and the Consequences of this Bill still as to Negatives will be really.

6. No preventing the Growth of Popery. Will any Man in the World tell us, that *To divide Protestants is a way to prevent the further Growth of Popery*. This is like sinking the Ship to drown the Rats--- like Cutting off the Foot to cure the Corns. To divide Protestants is to weaken them, or else our Saviour was a false Prophet; and can weakening the Protestant Interest be a way to prevent the Growth of Popery?

This would merit some Satyr if the Case was not really too sad and serious to bear a Banter. If these are Church of *Ireland* Politicks, for Shame Gentlemen never reproach the Native *Irish* for winking when they shoot, for never Marks-men took such Aim as this. 'Tis such a *Tale of a Tub* the very *Irish* themselves must of Necessity laugh at it ; and whereas we have been told they were in Hopes this Clause would break the Bill, divide the House, and so the Bill be lost, we are of Opinion they ought to have acquiesc'd and forwarded the passing the Bill for the Sake of this Clause ; for what could be of more Service to the Popish Interest in that Kingdom than to see the Protestants thus divided, persecuting, disturbing and disobliging one another-----To see that Party suppress'd, trampled on and dissatisfied who were always the dead Weight against Popery, from whom they received the most Powder and Shot, and by whom they were always worst handled.--This certainly ought to have comforted them, made them hope for a Restoration of their Affairs with more Probability than ever, and might be thought a sufficient Satisfaction to them for all the other Disappointments of that Bill.

How can it but be an inexpressible Satisfaction and Pleasure to the *Irish* Papists, who wish all the *English* Protestants out of the Kingdom, to see a great many of the richest and most trading Inhabitants draw in their Effects, remit their Money to other Places, follow it with their Families ; and a Law made by their Fellow Protestants, which making them uneasy is the Occasion of it all.

If it be answer'd, the Church Party are strong enough to take Care of the *Irish* without the Dissenters, this opens the Door to a very unhappy Argument against them, *Then what need of the Act* ; if there was no Occasion for it, *Why was it made* ? And this would cause the Church of *Ireland* to run the Risque of being charg'd with some special Malice, to make a Law
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so grievous to their Brethren, so unkind, and so otherwise ill circumstanc'd, without any manner of Occasion for it; wherefore we choose to dismiss that Answer as a vain Pretence, and bring it to matter of Truth.

That there is Occasion in the Kingdom of *Ireland* to prevent the Growth of Popery.

That the united Force of all the Protestants in *Ireland* is necessary to discourage and keep it down, and all little enough.

And if so, then 'tis a great Encouragement to the Growth of Popery to divide and disunite the Protestants; and consequently, the Act disagrees with itself, it pulls down in one part what it builds up in another; the Whole is inconsistent with the Parts, and incoherent with the Title.

'Tis time to have done with the Negatives. The Affirmative Consequences of this matter are many, and time may make them appear to be more than yet they seem to be; some of them have been toucht in their Contraries.

1. Persecution for Conscience Sake, which whatever may have been pretended, has been in all Ages allow'd to be contrary to the Principles of the Christian Religion, and is Publickly disown'd and disapprov'd by the Church of *England*, which is allow'd to be the Parent and Nursing Mother of the Church of *Ireland*. To persecute for the Sake of a Conscientious Difference, as it has no Scriptural Authority, so it has no Humane Authority to give it any Colour of a Law, or to make it agreeable to the Minds of Men --- And therefore when we call it Persecution, we find none of the Church pretend to justify the Article of Persecution as lawful; but they would come off here by proving, that this is not Persecution; because, say they, we allow you the Liberty of all Religious Worship your own Way.

The Answer to this is so unhappily plain, that sad and most pitiful Shifts are made to evade it.

Persecution, if we understand it right, is punishing any Person or People for not complying with, or conforming to, some Particular of Divine Worship, or some Article of Religion which that Power that persecutes demands a Conformity to.

Now if those Gentlemen, who will not have these things go under the Title of Persecution, will tell us that to turn all the Dissenters out of Places of Honour, Trust and Profit for not complying with the Sacrament, is not punishing them for not complying with some Particular of Divine Worship, they will come to a Necessity of proving One of these Two things.

1. That inflicting Penalties is no Punishment. Or,
2. That the Sacrament is no Particular of Divine Worship, or no Religious Act.

Any Man would be glad to see either of these Two points so answer'd, as that this Cause might be clear'd from the Scandal, and the Church of *Ireland* be acquitted from practicing that Persecution which her Principle disowns.

2. The second Consequence, which any wise Man may foresee must follow this Matter is *Division*----- The Effects of that capacious Word are too many and too long, to be describ'd.

Divisions have too long afflicted these unhappy Nations, to leave us in any Degree Strangers to their ill Consequences. The Queen's Majesty, in all her late most Excellent Speeches to her Parliament, has given us true Ideas of the fatal Effect of Divisions, and Breaches in the Union of a Nation; and sufficiently warn'd all her Subjects, were they a People capable of Warning, against all the Circumstances that lead to such an Evil.

The Union of Protestants in *Ireland*, till now, was very remarkable; some hints have been given of it in this Tract, and much more might be said on that pleasant Subject; but the Discontents that begin already to shew their ill Aspects, and cloud and eclipse the

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the Beauty and Lustre of that Light, how many, how numberless are they ! and what a black Prospect have we still of those behind !

To divide the Protestant Interest is to weaken it, to weaken that is to strengthen its contrary, Popery ; and what can be a more fatal Blow to the general Good of that Nation.

Capt. *Lawrence*, a Learned and a Sensible Gentleman, who wrote of, and very well understood the Interest of *Ireland*, has this very apt Notion of the Interest of *Ireland* ; and with that we shall end this Discourse.

“ But that which would, above all other Expedi-
 “ ents, tend to the strengthening the *English* Interest
 “ in *Ireland*, would be to endeavour a right Under-
 “ standing and charitable Union between all sober pi-
 “ ous Protestants in matters of Religion, the Want
 “ of which increaseth groundless Jealousies of each
 “ other, and strengthneth the Confidence of the com-
 “ mon Enemy of the Protestant Interest, that they
 “ are easily run down, as in the Massacre 1641.
 “ when at first they declar'd their Design was against
 “ the Puritannical Party, then against the *English*,
 “ not the *Scots*. But I suppose I need not inform you
 “ how soon all Protestants became equal Objects of
 “ their Fury and barbarous Cruelty. *Law. Int. Ire-*
land. pag. 99.

CONCLUSION.

To the Church of *Ireland*.

Gentlemen,

YOur Protestant Brethren, the Dissenters of this Kingdom, tho' not personally acquainted with the Publication of these Sheets, are here represented your humble Suppliants for the Testimonies of Loyalty and Peaceable Behaviour, due from you in Justice to Truth, and Honour to your selves.

These Innocents allied to you in Blood, united to you in one Faith, Doctrine, and Redeemer, often your Companions in Sufferings for the same Religion, the same Liberty, and the same Country; your Fellows in Arms for the Defence of this Kingdom, and Sharers with you in the Joy of the same Conquests; your Partners in the many Blessings of the Revolution, and interested with you in the Favour and mighty Protection of the same Defender King *William*, always thought they should, with mutual Satisfaction, enjoy with you their Share of the immortal Blessings of Peace, purchas'd under the Valour and Conduct of that Prince, by the joint Concurrence of the Protest-

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ant Power, undistinguish'd as to Party, Profession, or Opinion.

'Tis with infinite Regret they see the Endeavours of their Enemies to render them suspected to you, too successful ; and those Laws, which were introduced for the Security of this Nation, pointed at them in Company with the Capital Enemies of *Ireland*. They cannot believe the *Church of Ireland as such* could entertain a Thought so destructive to the general Welfare, as the loading the Dissenters with Crimes, which, by God's Grace, they never were, or will be guilty of ; or be so unkind as to enact against them as Criminal, while under the authentick Testimonies of Loyalty and Good Services done to your whole Body, as well as the Government, they have an Acknowledgment of their extraordinary Zeal for the Safety of both.

They are therefore rather enclined to suppose they shall meet with Ease and Redress of this Burthen from your Hands, than that you will show your selves so much as enclin'd to lay any Hardship upon them ; and the Design of these Sheets is but in an humble Manner to expostulate with you on their Behalf, that from the Sense of their Merit, their past Services and known Loyalty, you would become humble Intercessors with them, and for them, to their Sovereign, that such part of this Pressure as, your own Justice and Honour shall dictate to you they have not deserv'd, may be taken off ; and that the Church may not lie under the Reflection of having enjoy'd the Advantage of their Sufferings and Faithful Services, without suitable Returns to the People, who have, by your own Acknowledgment, merited to be remember'd by you to their Honour.

Next, and immediately after the Arguments in this Case, drawn from the Principles of Charity, Neighbourhood, Christian love, and the Sense of Merit, known

known in some Countries by the Name of Common Gratitude, the Author of these Sheets humbly desires, in the Name of the whole Body of the Dissenters in *Ireland*, that all those Gentlemen of the Church of *Ireland*, who may be enclined to acquiesce in the Hardships put upon their Dissenting Brethren would be pleas'd to consider,

1. *Their own Interests.* And 1. Whether upon the Emergency of any future Insolence, Rebellion, or Insurrection of the Native *Irish*, whether back'd by Foreign Alliance, or not, they are able of themselves, without the Assistance of these dangerous Protestants, call'd Dissenters, to oppose, fight, conquer, and reduce the said Native *Irish*.

2. Whether, if it be true, that the Native *Irish* and Papists, by common Calculation are Eight to One against the *British* and Protestants in that Kingdom, speaking inclusively of all sorts of Dissenters : The Said *Irish*, &c. would not be above Sixteen to One, in Case all sorts of Dissenters are excluded from every Part of the Defence, and laid by either as Neuters, or as Enemies.

3. Whether, allow the *Irish* to be worse Cowards and Scoundrils than they ever yet appeared, whether they think it possible to fight them with the Inequality of One to Sixteen.

2. *Justice.* Whether it be reasonable to expect the Dissenters, who, in time of Peace, and without Provocation, are enacted against as dangerous Enemies and not thought fit to be trusted with Posts of Profit should be concern'd in Case of Rebellion and War to accept of Places of Hazards, and embark in the Defence of those People who treated them so unkindly.

3. Past Actions. Whether ever the Church of *Ireland*, when oppress'd or insulted by the *Irish*, were able to defend themselves against them, without the Help of their Dissenting Brethren?

4. Whether they found them backward in such time of Distress to venture their Fortunes and Blood for the general Preservation? And whether by right of War they have not an equal Claim to the Privileges of that Peace they help'd to obtain.

If we might be allow'd here to expostulate with the Church of *Ireland*, it should be to ask them, Gentlemen, do you think the Papists are likely ever to renounce their old Principles of Hatred against the *English*, as a Nation; or that upon every Opportunity they should not be very forward to put in Practice the former Rage against the Protestant Interest in general; whether, when they find an Occasion to put this in Practice, either by Insurrection, General Massacre, or any other publick or private Method, they will distinguish Church Protestants from Dissenting Protestants.

We desire, with all Modesty and possible Respect, to ask whether you do not seem to express a greater Confidence in the Dissenters on one Hand, than is consistent with the Distrust and Diffidence on the other Hand, which must be suppos'd to make it rational, that they should be enacted against in the same Law with the Papists and Enemies to the Government; and whether you do not seem hereby to own, that we are more Loyal to the Government, and True to the Protestant Interest than your selves, in that you venture to put the highest Indignity, Reproach and Affront upon us, and thereby presume we are by no ill Treatment to be provoked so much as to stand Neuter
when

when your Defence requires our Assistance, much less that you should think, we shall on any Terms be brought to joyn with the Papists in your Destruction.

We would be glad you would reconcile these two palpable Contradictions; and would willingly know, whether, if after all this Treatment, the next time the Papists of this Kingdom shall think fit to insult you, and the Dissenters fall in, and with the Hazards of their Lives, Estates, and all that is dear to them, defend you, whether you will not blush at this Bill, and enter your Acknowledgment upon Record, as it is already, that these Things ought to be remembered to their Honour?

It cannot be defended by the Rules of Charity, Christian Love, and Good Neighbourhood, any more than it can from the Rules of Justice or Policy, that the Dissenters should be thus treated; since they, especially those of them who now inhabit the Northern Parts of the Kingdom, came to you as Fellow-Planters and Settlers of Colonies, in the Beginning of the Peopling this Nation by the *British* Protestants; and consequently, have equal Right of Liberty and Settlement as your selves; or else came hither as Auxiliaries, as indeed they have ever since prov'd, and as your Assistants against your Enemies; and have thereby obtain'd a Right of Settlement and Liberty by Treaties and Capitulations, which ought not to be violated or invaded.

Upon all these Considerations, and many more, of which they save to themselves the Liberty of reminding you, as Occasion requires, they desire to lay before you calmly and sedately; and in all Tenderness and Charity the Hardship, and, as they think, Injustice of those Gentlemen, who think they merit such severe Treatment.

They humbly appeal to your certain Knowledge in their constant Behaviour, and in the Truth of every
Article

Article insisted on in this Book : And the Author of this Tract is not afraid to take upon him the Demonstration of all the Particulars ; and to recommend them, in Behalf of the Dissenters, to the Gentlemen of the Church, as their Fellows, in all possible degrees of Right to the Peace of this Nation ; and most earnestly to desire their serious Considerations of the Indignities, Injuries and Oppressions they already suffer, and are likely yet farther to suffer on this Account.

And thus they are you humble Petitioners, that from a Sence of Justice, Gratitude, and Christian Charity, as you know the Dissenters innocent of any thing to merit being treated severely, from a Sence of Interest, Prudence, and Civil Polity, as there is more than ordinary Occasion of a firm Union among all Protestants for the mutual Defence of themselves and the Nation ; and as you would encourage the Dissenters, and expect of them to assist you in Case of any future Dangers from the Publick Enemy, and from a Sence of the Christian Obligation of Charity and Forbearance, which in all Cases declares against Coercion or Punishments in Cases of Conscience, and from many other Reasons, as well Civil as Religious, too long to be here enumerated, *You would be pleased* to become humble Intercessors with her Majesty, and the Parliament of this Kingdom, for the Repeal of that part of the Clause, and Remission of that part of this Act, which they have just Reason to complain is grievous to them, as Protestant Dissenters ; and against the Honourable Remembrance of their former Loyalty and Services ; and that they may no longer be reckoned among the Nations Enemies, and enacted against as People dangerous and suspected, at least till by some disloyal or disaffected Behaviour, which they trust will never be found on them, they shall have done something to forfeit the Title of, as well as the Protection, which all Govern-
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ments think due to, faithful and peaceable Subjects.

Thus you will effectually secure this Kingdom against the Growth of Popery, by firmly uniting the Hearts and Hands of all her Majesty's Protestant Subjects, in the vigorous Defence both of her Person and Government ; and in that blessed Peace and Union, which her Majesty has, on all Occasions, declared to be her pious Desire, and has so often recommended to all her Subjects.

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Great Question,

Whether Work-Houses, Corporations, and Houses of Correction for Employing the Poor, as now practis'd in *England*; or Parish Stocks, as propos'd in a late Pamphlet, Entituled, *A Bill for the better Relief, Employment and Settlement of the Poor, &c.* Are not mischievous to the Nation, tending to the Destruction of our Trade, and to Encrease the Number and Misery of the Poor.

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*To the Knights, Citizens and Bur-
gesses in Parliament Assembled.*

GENTLEMEN,

HE that has Truth and Justice, and the Interest of *England* in his Design, can have nothing to fear from an *English* Parliament.

This makes the Author of these Sheets, however Despicable in himself, apply to this Honourable House, without any Apology for the Presumption.

Truth, *Gentlemen*, however meanly dress'd, and in whatsoever bad Company she happens to come, was always entertain'd at your Bar; and the Commons of *England* must cease to act like themselves, or which is worse, like their Ancestors, when they cease to entertain any Proposal, that offers it self at their Door, for the general Good and Advantage of the People they Represent.

I willingly grant, That 'tis a Crime in good Manners to interrupt your more weighty Councils, and disturb your Debates; with empty nauseous Trifles in Value, or mistaken Schemes, and whoever ventures to Address You, ought to be well assur'd he is in the right, and that the Matter suits the Intent of your meeting, *viz. To dispatch the weighty Affairs of the Kingdom.*

And as I have premis'd this, so I freely submit to any Censure this Honourable Assembly shall think fit

deserve, if I have broke in upon either of the Particulars.

I have but one Petition to make with respect to the Author, and that is, That no freedom of Expression, which the Arguments may oblige him to, may be constru'd as a want of Respect, and a Breach of the due Deference every *English* Man owes to the representing Power of the Nation.

It would be hard, that while I am honestly offering to your Consideration something of Moment for the general Good, Prejudice should lay Snare for the Author, and private Pique make him an Offender for a Word.

Without entring upon other Parts of my Character, 'tis enough to acquaint this Assembly, that I am an *English* Freeholder, and have by that a Title to be concern'd in the good of that Community of which I am an unworthy Member.

This Honourable House is the Representative of all the Freeholders of *England*; you are Assembl'd for their Good, you study their Interest, you possess their Hearts, and you hold the Strings of the general Purse.

To you they have Recourse for the Redress of all their Wrongs, and if at any time one of their Body can offer to your Assistance, any fair, legal, honest and rational Proposal for the publick Benefit, it was never known that such a Man was either rejected or discourag'd.

And on this Account I crave the Liberty to assure you, That the Author of this seeks no Reward; to him it shall always be Reward enough to have been capable of serving his Native Country, and Honour enough to have offer'd something for the publick Good worthy of Consideration in your Honourable Assembly.

Pauper ubique jacet, said our Famous Queen *Elizabeth*, when in her Progress thro' the Kingdom she saw the vast Throngs of the Poor, flocking to see and

bless

blefs her; and the Thought put her Majesty upon a continu'd study how to recover her People from that Poverty, and make their Labour more profitable to themselves in Particular, and the Nation in General.

This was easie then to propose, for that many useful Manufactures were made in foreign Parts, which our People bought with *English* Money, and Imported for their Use.

The Queen, who knew the Wealth and vast Numbers of People which the said Manufactures had brought to the neighbouring Countries then under the King of *Spain*, the *Dutch* being not yet revolted, never left off endeavouring what she happily brought to pass, *viz.* the transplanting into *England* those Springs of Riches and People.

She saw the *Flemings* prodigiously Numerous, their Cities stood thicker than her Peoples Villages in some parts; all sorts of useful Manufactures were found in their Towns, and all their People were rich and busy, no Beggars, no Idleness, and consequently no want was to be seen among them.

She saw the Fountain of all this Wealth and Workmanship, I mean the Wool, was in her own Hands, and *Flanders* became the Seat of all these Manufactures, not because it was naturally Richer and more Populous than other Countries, but because it lay near *England*, and the Staple of the *English* Wool which was the Foundation of all the Wealth, was at *Antwerp* in the Heart of that Country.

From hence, it may be said of *Flanders*, it was not the Riches and the Number of People brought the Manufactures into the *Low Countries*, but it was the Manufactures brought the People thither, and Multitudes of People make Trade, Trade makes Wealth, Wealth builds Cities, Cities enrich the Land round them, Land enrich'd rises in Value, and the Value of Lands enriches the Government.

Many Projects were set on foot in *England* to erect the Woollen Manufacturer here, and in some Places it had found Encouragement, before the Days of this Queen, especially as to making of Cloath, but Stuffs, Bays, Says, Serges, and such like Wares were yet wholly the Work of the *Flemings*.

At last an Opportunity offer'd perfectly unlook'd for, *viz.* The Persecution of the Protestants, and introducing the *Spanish* Inquisition into *Flanders*, with the Tyranny of the Duke *D' Alva*.

It cannot be an ungrateful Observation, here to take notice how Tyranny and Persecution, the one an Oppression of Property, the other of Conscience, always Ruine Trade, Impoverish Nations, Depopulate Countries, Dethrone Princes, and Destroy Peace.

When an *English* Man reflects on it, he cannot without infinite Satisfaction look up to Heaven, and to this Honourable House, *that* as the spring, *this* as the Stream *from* and *by* which the Felicity of this Nation has obtain'd a Pitch of Glory, Superior to all the People in the World.

Your Councils especially, when blest from Heaven, *as now we trust they are*, with Principles of Unanimity and Concord, can never fail to make Trade flourish, War successful, Peace certain, Wealth flowing, Blessings probable, the Queen Glorious, and the People happy.

Our unhappy Neighbours of the *Low Countries* were the very Reverse of what we *blest our selves for in you*.

Their Kings were Tyrants, their Governours Persecutors, their Armies Thieves and Blood-hounds.

Their People divided, their Councils confus'd, and their Miseries innumerable.

D' Alva the *Spanish* Governour, besieg'd their Cities, decimated the Inhabitants, murth'rd their Nobility, proscrib'd their Princes and executed 18000 Men by the Hand of the Hang-man.

Conscience was trampled under foot, Religion and Reformation hunted like a Hare upon the Mountains, the Inquisition threatned, and Foreign Armies introduced.

Property fell a Sacrifice to Absolute Power, the Country was ravag'd, the Towns plunder'd, the Rich confiscated, the Poor starv'd, Trade interrupted, and the 10th Penny demanded.

The Consequence of this was, *as in all Tyrannies and Persecutions it is*, the People fled and scatter'd themselves in their Neighbours Countries, Trade languish'd, Manufactures went abroad, and never return'd, Confusion reign'd, and Poverty succeeded.

The Multitude that remain'd, push'd to all Extremities, were forc'd to obey the Voice of Nature, and in their own just Defence to take Arms against their Governours.

Destruction it self has it uses in the World, the Ashes of one City rebuilds another, and God Almighty, who never acts in vain, brought the Wealth of *England*, and the Power of *Holland* into the World from the Ruine of the *Flemish Liberty*.

The *Dutch* in defence of their Liberty revolted, renounc'd their Tyrant Prince, and prosper'd by Heaven and the Assistance of *England*, erected the greatest Common-wealth in the World.

Innumerable Observations would flow from this part of the present Subject, but Brevity is my Study, I am not teaching; for I know who I speak to, but relating and observing the Connexion of Causes, and the wonderous Births which *lay then* in the Womb of Providence, and are since come to life.

Particularly how Heaven directed the Oppression and Tyranny of the Poor, should be the Wheel to turn over the great Machine of Trade from *Flanders* into *England*.

And how the Persecution and Cruelty of the *Spaniards* against Religion should be directed by the secret over-ruling Hand, to be the Foundation of a People,

ple, and a Body that should in Ages then to come, be one of the chief Bulwarks of that very Liberty and Religion they sought to destroy.

In this general Ruine of Trade and Liberty, *England* made a Gain of what she never yet lost, and of what she has since encreas'd to an inconceivable Magnitude.

As *D'Alva* worried the poor *Flemings*, the Queen of *England* entertain'd them, cherish'd them, invited them, encourag'd them.

Thousands of innocent People fled from all Parts from the Fury of this Merciless Man, and as *England*, to her Honour has always been the Sanctuary of her distress'd Neighbours, so now she was so to her special and particular Profit.

The Queen who saw the Opportunity put into her hands which she had so long wish'd for, not only receiv'd kindly the Exil'd *Flemings*, but invited over all that would come, promising them all possible Encouragement, Privileges and Freedom of her Ports, and the like.

This brought over a vast Multitude of *Flemings*, *Walloons*, and *Dutch*, who with their whole Families settled at *Norwich*, at *Ipswich*, *Colchester*, *Canterbury*, *Exeter*, and the like. From these came the *Walloon* Church at *Canterbury*, and the *Dutch* Churches *Norwich*, *Colchester* and *Tarmouth*; from hence came the True born *English* Families at those Places with Foreign Names; as the *De Vinks* at *Norwich*, the *Rebours* at *Colchester*, the *Papilons*, &c. at *Canterbury*, Families to whom this Nation are much in debt for the first planting those Manufactures, from which we have since rais'd the greatest Trades in the World.

This wise Queen knew that number of Inhabitants are the Wealth and Strength of a Nation, she was far from that Opinion, we have of late shown too much of in complaining that Foreigners came to take the Bread out of our Mouths, and ill treating on that account the *French* Protestants who fled hither for Refuge in the late Persecution.

Some

Some have said that above 50000 of them settled here, and would have made it a Grievance, tho' without doubt 'tis easie to make it appear, that 500000 more would be both useful and profitable to this Nation.

Upon the settling of these Foreigners, the Scale of Trade visibly turn'd both here and in *Flanders*.

The *Flemings* taught our Women and Children to Spin, the Youth to Weave, the Men entered the Loom to labour instead of going abroad to seek their Fortunes by the War, the several Trades of *Bayes* at *Colchester*, *Sayes* and *Perpets*, at *Sudbury*, *Ipswich*, &c. *Stuffs* at *Norwich*, *Serges* at *Exeter*, *Silks* at *Canterbury*, and the like, began to flourish. All the Counties round felt the Profit, the Poor were set to work, the Traders gain'd Wealth; and Multitudes of People flock'd to the several Parts where these Manufactures were erected for Employment, and the Growth of *England*, both in Trade, Wealth and People since that time, as it is well known to this Honourable House; so the Causes of it appear to be plainly the Introducing of these Manufactures, and nothing else.

Nor was the Gain made here by it more visible than the loss to the *Flemings*, from hence, and not as is vainly suggested from the building the *Dutch* Fort of *Lillo* on the *Scheld*, came the Decay of that flourishing City of *Antwerp*. From hence it is plain the *Flemings*, an Industrious Nation, finding their Trade ruin'd at once, turn'd their Hands to other things, as making of *Lace*, *Linen*, and the like, and the *Dutch* to the Sea Affairs and Fishing.

From hence they become *Poor*, thin of People, and weak in Trade, the Flux both of their Wealth and Trade, running wholly into *England*.

I humbly crave leave to say, this long Introduction shall not be thought useless, when I shall bring it home by the Process of these Papers to the Subject now in hand, viz. *The Providing for, and Employing the Poor*.

Since

Since the Times of *Queen Elizabeth* this Nation has gone on to a Prodigy of Trade, of which the Encrease of our Customs from 400000 Crowns to two Millions of Pounds Sterling, *per Ann.* is a Demonstration beyond the Power of Argument ; and that this whole Encrease depends upon, and is principally occasion'd by the encrease of our Manufactures is so plain, I shall not take up any room here to make it out.

Having thus given an Account how we came to be a rich, flourishing and populous Nation, I crave leave as concisely as I can, to examine how we came to be Poor again, if it must be granted that we are so.

By Poor here I humbly desire to be understood, not that we are a poor Nation in general ; I should undervalue the bounty of Heaven to *England*, and act with less Understanding than most Men are Masters of, if I should not own, that in general we are as *Rich a Nation* as any in the World ; but by Poor I mean burthen'd with a crowd of clamouring, unemploy'd, unprovided for poor People, who make the Nation uneasie, burthen the Rich, clog our Parishes, and make themselves worthy of Laws, and peculiar Management to dispose of and direct them how these came to be thus in the Question.

And first, I humbly crave leave to lay these Heads down as fundamental Maxims, which I am ready at any time to Defend and make out.

1. *There is in England more Labour than Hands to perform it, and consequently a want of People, not of Employment.*
2. *No Man in England, of sound Limbs and Senses, can be Poor meerly for want of Work.*
3. *All our Work-houses, Corporations and Charities for employing the Poor, and setting them to Work, as now they are employ'd, or any Acts of Parliament to empower Overseers of Parishes, or Parishes themselves, to employ the Poor, except as shall be here-*

after

after excepted, are, and will be publick Nufances, Mischiefs to the Nation which serve to the Ruin of Families, and the Encrease of the Poor.

4. *That 'tis a Regulation of the Poor that is wanted in England, not a setting them to Work.*

If after these things are made out, I am enquir'd of what this Regulation should be, I am no more at a loss to lay it down than I am to affirm what is above; and shall always be ready, when call'd to it, to make such a Proposal to this Honourable House, as with their Concurrence shall for ever put a stop to Poverty and Beggery, Parish Charges, Assessments and the like, in this Nation.

If such offers as these shall be slighted and rejected, I have the Satisfaction of having discharg'd my Duty, and the Consequence must be, that complaining will be continued in our Streets.

'Tis my misfortune, that while I study to make every Head so concise, as becomes me in things to be brought before so Honourable and August an Assembly, I am oblig'd to be short upon Heads that in their own Nature would very well admit of particular Volumes to explain them.

1. I affirm, *That in England there is more Labour than Hands to perform it.* This I prove,

1. From the dearness of Wages, which in *England* out goes all Nations in the World; and *I know no greater Demonstration in Trade.* Wages, like Exchanges, Rise and Fall as the Remitters and Drawers, the Employers and the Work-men, Ballance one another.

The Employers are the Remitters, the Work-men are the Drawers, if there are more Employers than Work-men, the price of Wages must Rise, because the Employer wants that Work to be done more than the Poor Man wants to do it, if there are more Work-men than Employers the price of Labour falls, because

cause the Poor Man wants his Wages more than the Employer wants to have his Business done.

Trade, like all Nature, most obsequiously obeys the great Law of Cause and Consequence; and this is the occasion why even all the greatest Articles of Trade follow, and as it were pay Homage to this seemingly Minute and Inconsiderable Thing, *The Poor Man's Labour*.

I omit, with some pain, the many very useful Thoughts that occur on this Head, to preserve the Brevity I owe to the Dignity of that Assembly I am writing to. But I cannot but Note how from hence it appears, that the Glory, the Strength, the Riches, the Trade, and all that's valuable in a Nation, as to its Figure in the World, depends upon the Number of its People, be they never so mean or poor; the consumption of Manufactures encreases the Manufacturers; the number of Manufacturers encreases the Consumption; Provisions are consum'd to feed them, Land improv'd, and more Hands employ'd to furnish Provision: All the Wealth of the Nation, and all the Trade is produc'd by Numbers of People; but of this by the way.

The price of Wages not only determines the Difference between the Employer and the Work-man, but it rules the Rates of every Market. If Wages grows high, Provisions rise in Proportion, and I humbly conceive it to be a mistake in those People, who say Labour in such parts of *England* is cheap because Provisions are cheap, but 'tis plain, Provisions are cheap there because Labour is cheap, and Labour is cheaper in those Parts than in others; because being remoter from *London* there is not that extraordinary Disproportion between the Work and the Number of Hands; there are more Hands, and consequently Labour cheaper.

'Tis plain to any observing Eye, that there is an equal plenty of Provisions in several of our South and Western Countries, as in *Yorkshire*, and rather a greater,

greater, and I believe I could make it out, that a poor labouring Man may live as cheap in *Kent* or *Sussex* as in the Bishoprick of *Durham*; and yet in *Kent* a poor Man shall earn 7 s. 10 s. 9 s. a Week, and in the North 4 s. or perhaps less; the difference is plain in this, that in *Kent* there is a greater want of People, in Proportion to the Work there, than in the North.

And this on the other hand makes the People of our norther Countries spread themselves so much to the South, where Trade, War and the Sea carrying off so many, there is a greater want of Hands.

And yet 'tis plain there is Labour for the Hands which remain in the North, or else the Country would be depopulated, and the People come all away to the South to seek Work; and even in *Yorkshire*, where Labour is cheapest, the People can gain more by their Labour than in any of the Manufacturing Countries of *Germany*, *Italy* or *France*, and live much better.

If there was one poor Man in *England* more than there was Work to employ, either some body else must stand still for him, or he must be starv'd; if another Man stands still for him he wants a days Work, and goes to seek it, and by consequence supplants another, and this a third, and this Contention brings it to this; no says the poor Man, *That is like to be put out of his Work*, rather than that Man shall come in I'll do it cheaper; nay, says the other, but I'll do it cheaper than you; and thus one poor Man wanting but a Days work would bring down the Price of Labour in a whole Nation, for the Man cannot starve, and will work for any thing rather than want it.

It may be Objected here, This is contradicted by our Number of Beggars.

I am sorry to say I am oblig'd here to call begging an Employment, since 'tis plain, if there is more Work than Hands to perform it, no Man that has his *Limbs* and his *Senses* need to beg, and those that *have not* ought to be put into a Condition not to want it.

So that begging is a meer scandal in the General; *in the Able* 'tis a scandal upon their Industry, and *in the Impotent* 'tis a scandal upon the Country.

Nay, the begging, as now practis'd, is a scandal upon our Charity, and perhaps the foundation of all our present Grievance---- How can it be possible that any Man or Woman, who being sound in Body and Mind, may, as 'tis apparent they may, have Wages for their Work, should be so base, so meanly spirit-ed, as to beg an Alms for God-sake -- Truly the scandal lies on our Charity; and People have such a Notion in *England* of being pitiful and charitable, that they encourage Vagrants, and by a mistaken Zeal do more harm than good.

This is a large Scene, and much might be said upon it; I shall abridge it as much as possible----. The Poverty of *England* does not lie among the craving Beggars but among poor Families, where the Children are numerous, and where Death or Sickness has depriv'd them of the Labour of the Father; these are the Houses that the Sons and Daughters of Charity, if they would order it well, should seek out and relieve; an Alms ill directed may be Charity to the particular Person, but becomes an Injury to the Publick, and no Charity to the Nation. As for the craving Poor, I am perswaded I do them no wrong when I say, that if they were Incorporated they would be the richest Society in the Nation; and the reason why so many pretend to want Work is, that they can live so well with the pretence of wanting Work, they would be mad to leave it and Work in earnest; and I affirm of my own knowledge, when I have wanted a Man for labouring work, and offer'd 9s. per Week to strouling Fellows at my Door, they have frequently told me to my Face, they could get more a begging, and I once set a lusty Fellow in the Stocks for making the Experiment.

I shall, in its proper place, bring this to a Method of Tryal, since nothing but Demonstration will affect

us, 'tis an easie matter to prevent begging in *England*, and yet to maintain all our Impotent Poor at far less charge to the Parishes than now they are oblig'd to be at.

When Queen *Elizabeth* had gain'd her Point as to Manufactories in *England*, she had fairly laid the Foundation; she thereby found out the way how every Family might live upon their own Labour, like a wise Princess she knew 'twould be hard to force People to Work when there was nothing for them to turn their Hands to; but assoon as she had brought the matter to bear, and there was Work for every body that had no mind to starve, then she applied her self to make Laws to oblige the People to do this Work, and to punish Vagrants, and make every one live by their own Labour; all her Successors followed this laudable Example, and from hence came all those Laws against sturdy Beggars, Vagabonds, Stroulers, &c. which had they been severely put in Execution by our Magistrates, 'tis presum'd these Vagrant Poor had not so encreas'd upon us as they have.

And it seems strange to me, from what just Ground we proceed now upon other Methods, and fancy that 'tis now our Business to find them Work, and to Employ them rather than to oblige them to find themselves Work and go about it.

From this mistaken Notion come all our Work-houses and Corporations, and the same Error, with submission, I presume was the birth of this Bill now depending, which enables every Parish to erect the Woollen Manufacture within it self, for the employing their own Poor.

'Tis the mistake of this part of the Bill only which I am enquiring into, and which I endeavour to set in a true light.

In all the Parliaments since the Revolution, this Matter has been before them, and I am justified in this attempt by the House of Commons having frequently

quently appointed Committees to receive Proposals upon this Head.

As my Proposal is General, I presume to offer it to the General Body of the House; if I am commanded to explain any part of it, I am ready to do any thing that may be serviceable to this great and noble Design.

As the former Houses of Commons gave all possible Encouragement to such as could offer, or but pretend to offer at this needful thing, so the imperfect Essays of several, whether for private or publick Benefit. I do not attempt to determine which have since been made, and which have obtain'd the Powers and Conditions they have desir'd, have by all their Effects demonstrated the weakness of their Design; and that they either understood not the Disease, or know not the proper Cure for it.

The Imperfection of all these Attempts is acknowledged, not only in the Preamble of this new Act of Parliament, but even in the thing, in that there is yet occasion for any new Law.

And having survey'd, not the necessity of a new Act, but the Contents of the Act which has been propos'd as a Remedy in this Case; I cannot but offer my Objections against the Sufficiency of the Proposal, and leave it to the Consideration of this Wise Assembly, and of the whole Nation.

I humbly hope the Learned Gentleman, under whose Direction this Law is now to proceed, and by whose Order it has been Printed, will not think himself personally concern'd in this Case, his Endeavours to promote so good a Work, as the Relief, Employment, and Settlement of the Poor merit the Thanks and Acknowledgment of the whole Nation, and no Man shall be more ready to pay his share of that Debt to him than my self. But if his Scheme happen to be something superficial, if he comes in among the number of those who have not search'd this Wound to the bottom, if the Methods propos'd are not such as will either answer his own Designs or the Nations,

Nations, I cannot think my self oblig'd to dispence, with my Duty to the Publick Good, to preserve a Personal Value for his Judgment, tho' the Gentleman's Merit be extraordinary.

Wherefore, as in all the Schemes I have seen laid for the Poor, and in this Act now before your Honourable House; the general Thought of the Proposers runs upon the Employing the Poor by Work-houses, Corporations, Houses of Correction, and the like, and that I think it plain to be seen, that those Proposals come vastly short of the main Design. These Sheets are humbly laid before you, as well to make good what is alledg'd, viz. That all these Work-houses, &c. Tend to the Encrease, and not the Relief of the Poor, as to make an humble Tender of mean plain, but I hope, rational Proposals for the more effectual Cure of this grand Disease.

In order to proceed to this great Challenge, I humbly desire the Bills already pass'd may be review'd, the Practice of our Corporation Work-houses, and the Contents of this proposed Act examin'd.

In all these it will appear that the Method chiefly proposed for the Employment of our Poor, is by setting them to Work on the several Manufactures before mention'd; as *Spinning, Weaving, and Manufacturing our English Wool.*

All our Work-houses, lately Erected in *England*, are in general thus Employ'd, for which without enumerating Particulars, I humbly appeal to the Knowledge of the several Members of this Honourable House in their respective Towns where such Corporations have been erected.

In the present Act now preparing, as Printed by Direction of a Member of this Honourable House, it appears, *that in order to set the Poor to Work, it shall be Lawful for the Overseers of every Town, or of one or more Towns joyn'd together to occupy any Trade, Mystery, &c. And raise Stocks for the carrying them on for the setting the Poor at Work, and for the pur-*

chasing Wool, Iron, Hemp, Flax, Thread, or other Materials for that Purpose. Vide the Act Publish'd by Sir Humphry Mackworth.

And that Charities given so and so, and not exceeding 200*l. per Annum* for this Purpose, shall be Incorporated of Course for these Ends.

In order now to come to the Case in hand, *it is necessary to premise*, that the thing now in debate is not the Poor of this or that particular Town. The House of Commons are acting like themselves, as they are the Representatives of all the Commons of *England*, 'tis the Care of all the Poor of *England* which lies before them, not of this or that particular Body of the Poor.

In proportion to this great Work, I am to be understood that these Work houses, Houses of Correction, and Stocks to Employ the Poor may be granted to lessen the Poor in this or that particular part of *England*; and we are particularly told of that at *Bristol*, that it has been such a Terror to the Beggars, that none of the strouling Crew will come near the City. But all this allow'd, in general, 'twill be felt in the main, and the end will be an Encrease of our Poor.

1. The Manufactures that these Gentlemen Employ the Poor upon, are all such as are before exercis'd in *England*.

2. They are all such as are manag'd to a full Extent, and the present Accidents of War and Foreign Interruption of Trade consider'd, rather beyond the vent of them than under it.

Suppose now a Work house for Employment of Poor Children, sets them to spinning of Worsted. For every Skein of Worsted these Poor Children Spin, there must be a Skein the less Spun by some poor Family or Person that spun it before; suppose the Manufacture of making Bays to be erected in *Bishopsgate-street*, unless the Makers of these Bays can at the same time find out a Trade or Consumption for more Bays

than

than were made before. For every piece of Bays so made in *London* there must be a piece the less made at *Colchester*.

I humbly appeal to the Honourable House of Commons what this may be call'd, and with Submission, I think it is nothing at all to the employing the Poor; since 'tis only the transposing the Manufacture from *Colchester* to *London*, and taking the Bread out of the Mouths of the Poor of *Essex*, to put it into the Mouths of the Poor of *Middlesex*.

If these worthy Gentlemen, who show themselves so commendably forward to relieve and employ the Poor, will find out some new Trade, some new Market, where the Goods they make shall be sold, where none of the same Goods were sold before; if they will send them to any place where they shall not interfere with the rest of that Manufacture, or with some other made in *England*, then indeed they will do something worthy of themselves; and may employ the Poor to the same glorious Advantage as *Queen Elizabeth* did, to whom this Nation, as a Trading Country, owes its peculiar Greatness.

If these Gentlemen could establish a Trade to *Muscovy* for *English* Serges, or obtain an Order from the *Czar*, that all his Subjects should wear Stockings who wore none before, every poor Child's Labour in Spinning and Knitting those Stockings, and all the Wool in them would be clear Gain to the Nation, and the general Stock would be improved by it, because all the Growth of our Country, and all the Labour of a Person who was idle before, is so much clear Gain to the General Stock.

If they will employ the Poor in some Manufacture which was not made in *England* before, or not bought with some Manufacture made here before, then they offer at something extraordinary.

But to set poor People at Work, on the same thing which other poor People were employ'd on before, and at the same time not increase the Consumption,

is giving to one what you take away from another; enriching one poor Man to starve another, putting a Vagabond into an honest Man's Employment, and putting his Diligence on the Tenters to find out some other Work to maintain his Family.

As this is not at all profitable, so *with Submission for the Expression*, I cannot say 'tis honest, because 'tis transplanting and carrying the poor Peoples Lawful Employment from the Place where was their Lawful Settlement, and the hardship of this *our Law consider'd* is intolerable. For Example.

The Manufacture of making Bays is now establish'd at *Colchester* in *Essex*, suppose it should be attempted to be erected in *Middlesex*, as a certain Worthy and Wealthy Gentleman near *Hackney* once propos'd, it may be suppos'd if you will grant the Skill in Working the same, and the Wages the same, that they must be made cheaper in *Middlesex* than in *Essex*, and Cheapness certainly will make the Merchant buy here rather than there, and so in time all the Bay making at *Colchester* dyes, and the Staple for that Commodity is remov'd to *London*.

What must the Poor of *Colchester* do, there they buy a Parochial Settlement, those that have numerous Families cannot follow the Manufacture and come up to *London*, for our Parochial Laws empower the Church-wardens to refuse them a Settlement, so that they are confin'd to their own Country, and the Bread taken out of their Mouths, and all this to feed Vagabonds, and to set them to Work, who by their choice would be idle, and who merit the Correction of the Law.

There is another Grievance which I shall endeavour to touch at, which every Man that wishes well to the Poor does not foresee, and which, with humble Submission to the Gentlemen that contriv'd this Act, I see no notice taken of.

There are Arcanas in Trade, which though they are the Natural Consequences of Time and casual Circumstances,

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cumstances, are yet become now so Essential to the Publick Benefit, that to alter or disorder them, would be an irreparable Damage to the Publick.

I shall explain my self as concisely as I can.

The Manufactures of *England* are happily settled in different Corners of the Kingdom, from whence they are mutually convey'd by a Circulation of Trade to *London* by Wholesale, like the Blood to the Heart, and from thence disperse in lesser Quantities to the other parts of the Kingdom by Retail. For Example.

Serges are made at *Exeter*, *Taunton*, &c. Stuffs at *Norwich*; *Bays*, *Says*, *Shaloons*, &c. at *Colchester*, *Bocking*, *Sudbury*, and parts adjacent, Fine Cloath in *Somerset*, *Wilts*, *Gloucester* and *Worcestershire*, Course Cloath in *Yorkshire*, *Kent*, *Surry*, &c. Druggers at *Farnbam*, *Newbury*, &c. All these send up the Gros of their Quantity to *London*, and receive each others Sorts in Retail for their own use again. *Norwich* buys *Exeter* Serges, *Exeter* buys *Norwich* Stuffs; all at *London*, *Yorkshire* buys Fine Cloths, and *Gloucester* Course, still at *London*; and the like, of a vast Variety of our Manufactures.

By this Exchange of Manufactures abundance of Trading Families are maintain'd by the Carriage and Re-carriage of Goods, vast number of Men and Cattle are employed, and numbers of Inholders, Victuallers, and their Dependencies subsisted.

And on this account I cannot but observe to your Honours, and 'tis well worth your Consideration, that the already transposing a vast Woollen Manufacture from several parts of *England* to *London*, is a manifest Detriment to Trade in general, the several Woollen Goods now made in *Spittlefields*, where within this few Years were none at all made, has already visibly affected the several parts, where they were before made, as *Norwich*, *Sudbury*, *Farnbam*, and other Towns, many of whose Principal Tradesmen are now remov'd hither, employ their Stocks here, employ the

Poor here, and leave the Poor of those Countries to shift for Work.

This Breach of the Circulation of Trade must necessarily Distemper the Body, and I crave leave to give an Example or two.

I'll presume to give an Example in Trade, which perhaps the Gentlemen concern'd in this Bill may, without Reflection upon their Knowledge, be ignorant of.

The City of *Norwich*, and part adjacent, were for some Ages employ'd in the Manufactures of Stuffs and Stockings.

The latter Trade, which was once considerable, is in a manner wholly transpos'd into *London*, by the vast quantities of worsted Hose wove by the Frame, which is a Trade within this 20 Years almost wholly new.

Now as the knitting Frame performs that in a Day which would otherwise employ a poor Woman eight or ten Days, by consequence a few Frames perform'd the Work of many thousand poor People; and the Consumption being not increased, the Effect immediately appear'd; so many Stockings as were made in *London*, so many the fewer were demanded from *Norwich*, till in a few Years the Manufacture there wholly sunk, the Masters there turn'd their hands to other Business; and whereas the Hose Trade from *Norfolk* once return'd at least 5000 *l.* per Week, and as some say twice that Sum, 'tis not now worth naming.

'Tis in fewer Years, and near our Memory, that of *Spittle-fields* Men have fallen into another Branch of the *Norwich* Trade, viz. making of Stuffs, Druggets, &c.

If any Man say the People of *Norfolk* are yet full of Employ, and do not Work; and some have been so weak as to make that Reply, avoiding the many other Demonstrations which could be given, this is just answering, viz. That the Combers of Wool in

Norfolk

Norfolk and *Suffolk*, who formerly had all, or ten parts in eleven of their Yarn Manufactur'd in the Country, now comb their Wool indeed, and spin the Yarn in the Country, but send vast Quantities of it to *London* to be woven; will any Man question whether this be not a Loss to *Norwich*? Can there be as many Weavers as before? And are there not abundance of Work-men and Masters too remov'd to *London*?

If it be so at *Norwich*, *Canterbury* is yet more a melancholy Instance of it, where the Houses stand empty, and the People go off, and the Trade dye, because the Weavers are following the Manufacture to *London*; and whereas there was within few Years 200 broad Looms at Work, I am well assur'd there are not 50 now Employ'd in that City.

These are the Effects of transposing Manufactures, and interrupting the Circulation of Trade.

All Methods to bring our Trade to be manag'd by fewer hands than it was before, are in themselves pernicious to *England* in general, as it lessens the Employment of the Poor, unhinges their hands from the Labour, and tends to bring our Hands to be superior to our Employ, which as yet it is not.

In *Dorsetshire* and *Somersetshire* there always has been a very considerable Manufacture for Stockings, at *Colchester* and *Sudbury* for Bayes, Sayes, &c. most of the Wool these Countries use is bought at *London*, and carried down into those Counties, and then the Goods being Manufactur'd are brought back to *London* to Market; upon transposing the Manufacture as before, all the poor People and all the Cattle who hitherto were employ'd in that *Voiture*, are immediately disbanded by their Country, the Inkeepers on the Roads must Decay, so much Land lie for other uses, as the Cattle employ'd, Houses and Tenements on the Roads, and all their Dependencies sink in Value.

'Tis hard to calculate what a Blow it would be to Trade in general, should every County but Manufacture all the several sorts of Goods they use, it would throw our Inland Trade into strange Convulsions, which at present is perhaps, or has been, in the greatest Regularity of any in the World.

What strange Work must it then make when every Town shall have a Manufacture, and every Parish be a Ware house; Trade will be burthen'd with Corporations, which are generally equally destructive as Monopolies, and by this Method will easily be made so.

Parish Stocks, under the Direction of Justices of Peace, may soon come to set up petty Manufactures, and here shall all useful things be made, and all the poorer sort of People shall be aw'd or byas'd to Trade there only. Thus the Shop-keepers, who pay Taxes, and are the Support of our Inland Circulation, will immediately be ruin'd, and thus we shall beggar the Nation to provide for the Poor.

As this will make every Parish a Market Town, and every Hospital a Store house, so in *London*, and the adjacent Parts, to which vast Quantities of the Woollen Manufacture will be thus transplanted thither, will in time too great and disproportion'd numbers of the People assemble.

Tho' the settled Poor can't remove, yet single People will stroul about and follow the Manufacturer; and thus in time such vast numbers will be drawn about *London*, as may be inconvenient to the Government, and especially Depopulating to those Countries where the numbers of People, by reason of these Manufactures are very considerable.

An eminent Instance of this we have in the present Trade to *Muscovy*, which however design'd for an Improvement to the *English* Nation, and boasted of as such, appears to be converted into a Monopoly, and proves injurious and destructive to the Nation. The Persons concern'd removing and carrying out our People

ple to teach that unpolish'd Nation the Improvements they are capable of.

If the bringing the *Flemings* to *England* brought with them their Manufacture and Trade, carrying our People abroad, especially to a Country where the People work for little or nothing, what may it not do towards instructing that populous Nation in such Manufactures as may in time tend to the Destruction of our Trade, or the reducing our Manufacture to an Abatement in Value, which will be felt at home by an Abatement of Wages, and that in Provisions, and that in Rent of Land ; and so the general Stock sinks of Course.

But as this is preparing, by eminent Hands, to be laid before this House as a Grievance meriting your Care and Concern, I omit insisting on it here.

And this removing of People is attended with many Inconveniencies which are not easily perceived, as

1. The immediate fall of the Value of all Lands in those Countries where the Manufactures were before ; for as the numbers of People, by the Consumption of Provisions, must wherever they encrease make Rents rise, and Lands valuable ; so those People removing, tho' the Provisions would, if possible, follow them, yet the Price of them must fall by all that Charge they are at for Carriage, and consequently Lands must fall in Proportion.

2. This Transplanting of Families, in time, would introduce great and new Alterations in the Countries they removed to, which as they would be to the Profit of some Places, would be to the Detriment of others, and can by no means be just any more than it is convenient ; for no wise Government studies to put any Branch of their Country to any particular Disadvantages, tho' it may be found in the general Account in another Place.

If it be said here will be Manufactures in every Parish, and that will keep the People at home.

I humbly

I humbly represent what strange Confusion and particular Detriment to the general Circulation of Trade *mention'd before* it must be, to have every Parish make its own Manufactures.

1. It will make our Towns and Counties independent of one another, and put a damp to Correspondence, which all will allow to be a great Motive of Trade in general.

2. It will fill us with various sorts and kinds of Manufactures, by which our stated sorts of Goods will in time dwindle away in Reputation, and Foreigners not know them one from another. Our several Manufactures are known by their respective Names; and our Serges, Bayes and other Goods, are bought abroad by the Character and Reputation of the Places where they are made; when there shall come new and unheard of Kinds to Market, some better, some worse, as to be sure new Undertakers will vary in kinds, the Dignity and Reputation of the *English* Goods abroad will be lost, and so many Confusions in Trade will follow, as are too many to re-

3. Either our Parish-stock must sell by Wholesale or by Retail, or both; if the first 'tis doubted they will sorry Work of it, and have other Business of their own, make but poor Merchants; if by Retail, then they turn Pedlars, will be a publick Nufance to Trade and at last quite ruine it.

4. This will ruine all the Carriers in *England*, the Wool will be all Manufactured where it is sheer'd, every Body will make their own Cloaths, and the Trade which now lives by running thro' a Multitude of Hands, will go then through so few, that thousands of Families will want Employment, and this is the only way to reduce us to the Condition spoken of, to have more Hands than Work.

'Tis the Excellence of our *English* Manufacture, that it is so planted as to go through as many Hands as 'tis possible; he that contrives to have it go thro' fewer, ought at the same time to provide Work for
the

the rest——As it is it employs a great multitude of People, and can employ more; but if a considerable number of these People be unhing'd from their Employment, it cannot but be detrimental to the whole.

When I say we could employ more People in *England*, I do not mean that we cannot do our Work with those we have, but I mean thus:

First, It should be more People brought over from foreign Parts. I do not mean that those we have should be taken from all common Employments and put to our Manufecture; we may unequally dispose of our Hands, and so have too many for some Works, and too few for others; and 'tis plain, that in some parts of *England* it is so, what else can be the reason, why in our Southern parts of *England*, *Kent* in particular, borrows 20000 People of other Counties to get in her Harveſt.

But if more Foreigners came among us, if it were 2 Millions, it could do us no harm, because they would consume our Provisions, and we have Land enough to produce much more than we do, and they would consume our Manufactures, and we have Wool enough for any Quantity.

I think therefore, with Submission, to erect Manufactures in every Town, to transpose the Manufactures from the settled places into private Parishes and Corporations, to parcel out our Trade to every Door, it must be ruinous to the Manufacturers themselves, will turn thousands of Families out of their Employments, and take the Bread out of the Mouths of diligent and industrious Families to feed Vagrants, Thieves and Beggars, who ought much rather to be compell'd, by Legal Methods, to seek that Work which it is plain is to be had; and thus this Act will instead of settling and relieving the Poor, encrease their Number, and starve the best of them.

It remains now, according to my first Proposal, Page 9, to consider from whence proceeds the Poverty of our People, what Accident, what Decay of Trade,

Trade, what want of Employment, what strange Revolution of Circumstances makes our People poor, and consequently Burthenfom, and our Laws Deficient, so as to make more and other Laws requisite, and the Nation concerned to apply a Remedy to this growing Disease. I answer.

1. Not for want of Work ; and besides what has been said on that Head, I humbly desire these two things may be consider'd.

First, 'Tis apparent, That if one Man, Woman, or Child, can by his, or her Labour, earn more Money than will subsist one Body, there must consequently be no want of Work, since any Man would work for just as much as would supply himself rather than starve—What a vast difference then must there be between the Work and the Workmen, when 'tis now known that in *Spittlefields*, and other adjacent parts of the City, there is nothing more frequent than for a Journey man Weaver, of many sorts, to gain from 15s. to 30s. *per Week Wages*, and I appeal to the Silk Throwsters, whether they do not give 8s, 9s, and 10s. *per Week* to blind Men and Cripples, to turn Wheels, and do the meanest and most ordinary Works.

Cur Moriatur Homo, &c.

Why are the Families of these Men starv'd, and their Children in Work houses, and brought up by Charity : I am ready to produce to this Honourable House the Man who for several Years has gain'd of me by his handy Labour at the mean scoundrel Employment of Tile-making from 16s. to 20s. *per Week Wages*, and all that time would hardly have a pair of Shoes to his Feet, or Cloaths to cover his Nakedness, and had his Wife and Children kept by the Parish.

The meanest Labours in this Nation afford the Workmen sufficient to provide for himself and his Family,

Family, and that could never be if there was a want of Work.

2. I humbly desire this Honourable House to consider the present Difficulty of Raising Soldiers in this Kingdom; the vast Charge the Kingdom is at to the Officers to procure Men; the many little and *not over honest Methods* made use of to bring them into the Service, the Laws made to compel them; Why are Goals rumag'd for Malefactors, and the Mint and Prisons for Debtors, the War is an Employment of Honour, and suffers some scandal in having Men taken from the Gallows, and immediately from Villains and House-breakers made Gentlemen Soldiers. If Men wanted Employment, and consequently Bread, this could never be, any Man would carry a Musquet rather than starve, and wear the Queens Cloth, or any Bodies Cloth, rather than go Naked, and live in Rags and want; 'tis plain, the Nation is full of People, and 'tis as plain, our People have no particular aversion to the War, but they are not poor enough to go abroad; 'tis Poverty makes Men Soldiers, and drives crowds into the Armies, and the Difficulties to get *English* men to Lift is, because they live in Plenty and Ease, and he that can earn 20 s. *per* Week at an easie, steady Employment, must be Drunk or Mad when he Lifts for a Soldier, to be knock'd o'th'Head for 3 s. 6 d. *per* Week; but if there was no Work to be had, if the Poor wanted Employment, if they had not Bread to eat, nor knew not how to earn it, thousands of young lusty Fellows would fly to the Pike and Musquet, and choose to die like Men in the Face of the Enemy, rather than lie at home, starve, perish in Poverty and Distress.

From all these Particulars, an innumerable unhappy Instances which might be given, 'tis plain, the Poverty of our People which is so burthenfome, and increases upon us so much, does not arise from want of proper Employments, and for want of Work, or Employers, and consequently,

Work-

Work-houſes, Corporations, Pariſh-Stocks, and the like, to ſet them to Work, as they are Pernicious to Trade, Injurious and Impoveriſhing to thoſe already employ'd, ſo they are needleſs, and will come ſhort of the End propos'd.

The Poverty and Exigence of the Poor in *England*, is plainly deriv'd from one of theſe two particular Cauſes,

Cafualty or Crime.

By Cafualty, I mean Sickneſs of Families, loſs of Limbs or Sight, and any, either Natural or Accidental Impotence as to Labour.

Theſe as Infirmities meerly Providential are not at all concern'd in this Debate; ever were, will, and ought to be the Charge and Care of the Reſpective Pariſhes where ſuch unhappy People chance to live, nor is there any want of new Laws to make Proviſion for them, our Anceſtors having been always careful to do it.

The Crimes of our People, and from whence their Poverty derives, as the viſible and direct Fountains are,

1. Luxury.
2. Sloath.
3. Pride.

Good Huſbandry is no *Engliſh* Vertue, it may have been brought over, and in ſome Places where it has been planted it has thriven well enough, but 'tis a Foreign Species, it neither loves, nor is belov'd by an *Engliſh man*; and 'tis obſerv'd, nothing is ſo univerſally hated, nothing treated with ſuch a general Contempt as a Rich Covetous Man, tho he does no Man any Wrong, only ſaves his own, every Man will have an ill word for him, if a Miſfortune happens to him, hang him a covetous old Rogue, 'tis no matter, he's Rich enough; nay when a certain great Man's Houſe was on Fire, I have heard the People ſay one to another, let it burn and 'twill, he's a covetous old miſerable Dog, I won't trouble my head to help him, he'd be

be hang'd before he'd give us a bit of Bread if we wanted it.

Tho' this be a Fault, yet I observe from it something of the natural Temper and Genius of the Nation, generally speaking, they cannot save their Mony.

'Tis generally said, the *English* get Estates, and the *Dutch* save them; and this Observation I have made between Foreigners and *English-men*, that where an *English-man* earns 20 s. per Week, and but just lives, as we call it, a *Dutch-man* grows Rich, and leaves his Children in very good Condition; where an *English* labouring Man with his 9 s. per Week lives wretchedly and poor, a *Dutch-man* with that Wages will live very tolerably well, keep the Wolf from the Door, and have every thing handsome about him. In short, he will be Rich with the same Gain as makes the *English-man* poor, he'll thrive when the other goes in Rags, and he'll live when the other starves, or goes a begging.

The Reason is plain, a Man with good Husbandry, and Thought in his Head, brings home his Earnings honestly to his Family, commits it to the Management of his Wife, or otherwise disposes it for proper Subsistence, and this Man with mean Gains lives comfortably, and brings up a Family, when a single Man getting the same Wages, Drinks it away at the Ale-house, thinks not of to morrow, lays up nothing for Sickness, Age, or Disaster, and when any of these happen he's starv'd, and a Beggar.

This is so apparent in every place, that I think it needs no Explication; that *English* Labouring People eat and drink, but especially the latter three times as much in value as any sort of Foreigners of the same Dimensions in the World.

I am not Writing this as a Satyr on our People, 'tis a sad Truth; and Worthy the Debate and Application of the Nations Physitians Assembled in Parliament, the profuse Extravagant Humour of our poor People in eating and drinking, keeps them low, causes their

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Children to be left naked and starving, to the care of the Parishes, whenever Sickness or Disaster befalls the Parent.

The next Article is their *Sloth*.

We are the most *Lazy Diligent* Nation in the World, vast Trade, Rich Manufactures, mighty Wealth, universal Correspondence and happy Success has been constant Companions of *England*, and given us the Title of an Industrious People, and so in general we are.

But there is a general Taint of Slothfulness upon our Poor, there's nothing more frequent, than for an *English-man* to Work till he has got his Pocket full of Money, and then go and be idle, or *perhaps drunk*, till 'tis all gone, and perhaps himself in Debt; and ask him in his Cups what he intends, he'll tell you honestly, he'll drink as long as it lasts, and then go to work for more.

I humbly suggest this Distemper's so General, so Epidemick, and so deep Rooted in the Nature and Genius of the *English*, that I much doubt it's being easily redress'd, and question whether it be possible to reach it by an Act of Parliament.

This is the Ruine of our Poor, the *Wife mourns*, the Children *starves*, the Husband *has Work before him*, but lies at the Ale-house, or otherwise *idles away* his time, and won't Work.

'Tis the Men that *wont work*, not the Men that *can get no work*, which makes the numbers of our Poor; all the Work-houses in *England*, all the Overseers setting up Stocks and Manufactures won't reach this Case; and I humbly presume to say, if these two Articles are remov'd, there will be no need of the other.

I make no Difficulty to promise on a short Summons, to produce above a Thousand Families in *England*, within my particular knowledge, who go in Rags, and their Children wanting Bread, whose Fathers can earn their 15 to 25 *s. per Week*, but will not work, who may have Work enough, but are too

idle

idle to seek after it, and hardly vouchsafe to earn any thing more than bare Subsistence, and Spending Money for themselves.

I can give an incredible number of Examples in my own Knowledge among our Labouring Poor. I once paid six or seven Men together on a *Saturday* Night, the least 10s. and some 30s. for Work, and have seen them go with it directly to the Ale-house, lie there till *Monday*, spend it every Penny, and run in Debt to boot, and not give a Farthing of it to their Families, tho' all of them had Wives and Children.

From hence comes Poverty, Parish Charges, and Beggary, if ever one of these Wretches falls sick, all they would ask was a Pass to the Parish they liv'd at, and the Wife and Children to the Door a Begging.

If this Honourable House can find out a Remedy for this part of the Mischief, if such Acts of Parliament may be made as may effectually cure the Sloth and Luxury of our Poor, that shall make Drunkards take care of Wife and Children, Spend-thrifts, lay up for a *wet* Day; Idle, Lazy Fellows Diligent; and Thoughtless Sottish Men, Careful and Provident.

If this can be done, I presume to say there will be no need of transposing and confounding our Manufactures, and the Circulation of our Trade; they will soon find work enough, and there will soon be less Poverty among us, and if this cannot be done, setting them to work upon Woolen Manufactures, and thereby encroaching upon those that now work at them, will but ruine our Trade, and consequently increase the number of the Poor.

I do not presume to offer the Schemes I have now drawn of Methods for the bringing much of this to pass, because I shall not presume to lead a Body so August, so Wise, and so capable as this Honourable Assembly.

I humbly submit what is here offered, as Reasons to prove the Attempt now making insufficient; and doubt not but in your Great Wisdom, you will find out Ways and Means to set this Matter in a clearer Light, and on a right Foot.

And if this obtains on the House to examine farther into this Matter, the Author humbly recommends it to their Consideration to accept, *in behalf of all the Poor of this Nation*, a Clause in the room of this objected against, which shall answer the End without this terrible Ruin to our Trade and People.

ROYAL
RELIGION:

Being some

ENQUIRY

AFTER THE

Piety of Princes.

With Remarks on a Book, Entituled,

A Form of Prayers us'd by King William.

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Royal-Religion.

ROYAL-RELIGION! says the First Man that looks on the Book, what d'ye mean by that? Did ever Man write a Book on so empty a Subject? This is like my Lord *Rocheſter's* Poem upon Nothing, or the Niceties of Entity and Non-Entity. Royal-Religion! A Demonſtration of a *Vacuum* in Nature, a *Salamander* in the Fire, *Lawyers* Honesty, *Jews* Charity, *Turkiſh* Humanity, a *Brute's* Abſtinence, a *Prieſt's* Continence, or a *Whore's* Maidenhead.

Well Gentlemen, ha' Patience, while we make a little ſearch after this Novelty: And ſince the Religion of Princes is under a little Scandal, bear with us a while, and we'll make Enquiry about it, perhaps we may find ſome Religion among Crown'd Heads; where we miſs it, we'll let you know; and if we find it, we'll not fail to give you notice.

But why ſhould any Man buſie himſelf to no purpoſe? Says another Learned Objector. Name me one King that ever had any Religion in him, I'll name you Forty that never troubl'd their Heads about God or Devil; never liv'd as if there was either, or thought it worth while to enquire whether there was or no.

It may be so, Gentlemen; but don't discourage a Body in the Enquiry. Neither is that an Argument; for, if there be one Good Man in forty Kings, there's as many in proportion as there is of any Class of Men in the World; besides, there is not above one King to Five Millions of Subjects all over *Europe*, one with another, and if there be one Religious King in an Age, 'tis above a Proportion in the Account of Good and Bad; therefore, pray let us go on with the Enquiry, and if we can find out this One in Forty, if we can show you his *Star* in the *East*, we hope you will join with us to go and worship him.

But where shall we look for him? In what Quarter of the World shall we hear of him? Is there no Old Prophecy, to guide us in the Enquiry, *Merlin*, *Nostradamus*, *Mother Shipton*, *Lilly*, *Gadbury*, *Partridge*, and all the Soothsayers of the Age? Can his Character be found in none of the Calendars, or among the Strange and Wonderfals of the Times? Let us enquire nicely, and who knows what may be the Consequence of a diligent Search.

Really, Gentlemen, after having ransack'd *Europe* for pious Kings, Men of Honesty and Principles, Men of Religion, wearing the Badge of Sovereignty upon their Heads, and the Stamp of Christian in their Hearts, having rummag'd History, and singl'd out a very few, I cannot but inform you who they are.

But before I come to them, I think 'tis needful to let you see how much fruitless Pains has been taken this way, and how much Labour lost; in short, to give you the Negatives where we found it not.

And, First; we came to *Rome*; Any body would ha' thought to ha' found Religion there; and tho' a Man with one Crown upon his Head, might be a Sinner, he that had three Crowns, who claim'd the Divine Succession, and the Mission of the Infalible Spirit,

Spirit, must needs be the Man; here we began to sing *Nunc Dimitis* with old *Simeon*, and design'd to call the Place *Bethel*, and to write over it, *Surely the Lord is in this Place, and I knew it not.*

But when we search'd into the Holy Juggle, and saw clearly the Sacred Fraud; how Interest govern'd all their Pretences, and what prodigious Cheats were conceal'd under the Pontif of *St. Peter*; when, with the Prophet *Ezekiel*, we were carry'd into the Inner Rooms, and visited the Chambers of Abomination; when, by the unbiass'd Eye of Reason and Reflexion, we entred into the Apartments of Darkness, and saw the *Archi* of the Sanctified See, a sudden Light shone into the Place, and discovered this Golden Inscription, written on the Inside of the *Sacra Casa* of the *Vatican*,

Heu quantum profuit hac Fabula Christi!

Away we came; we had enough of the Search.

From thence we considered the Imperial Court, his Imperial Majesty's Piety, his Zeal in Religion, his Holy Life, his Bare footed Processions, his Religious Observation of Treaties and Confederates, and the like, we concluded,

Hic jacet in Tumulo Religio Religiosa.

But searching a little farther into the Treaties of *Caschau*, and the sundry Capitulations with the poor Protestants of *Hungaria*, and finding among some Old Records of Count *Teckley's*, which were taken in the Castle of *Mongatz*, a sad and melancholy account of Bloody Massacres and Cruel Devastations committed on the Protestants, under the solemnest Treaties and Engagements, and repeated Oaths of Parties: And a Protestation made by Count *Sincing* before his Death, that they found it safer to trust the

Faith of the *Turk* than the Emperor, and a great deal of such Black Stuff as this: We concluded in the Words of the Angel, *Resurrexit, non est hic*.

We pass'd from hence into *Poland*; never did poor Enquirers meet with such Disappointments; here we found a new King, and a new Convert, both in one; they said, he had lately chang'd his Religion; but upon Enquiry, we found that a Mistake, for it was plainly prov'd he had none before: So it was concluded, he had newly embrac'd Religion, as such, and as might reasonably be expected from a Man newly become a Christian; we made no question but we should find a warm Zeal, a hearty Profession, and a Red-hot Christian; we found he went constantly to Mass, and said over his *Aves* and *Paternosters* most Religiously; was constantly at *Vespers*, and rose before Day to his *Mattins*; and now we thought we had found Religion out: But all of a sudden his *Saxon* Troops began to march, and without so much as declaring War, without Quarrel, without Pretence, without the least Shadow of Honesty, he invaded *Livonia*, depending upon the Minority of the King of *Swedeland*, and his being at the same time embarrassed with a War in *Denmark*.

We were a going to quit *Poland* upon this, when on a sudden we were call'd to look back to the Cardinal Primate, who being in the *Interregnum* the Sovereign of *Poland*, deserves our Notice; and being a Prince and a Priest, both together, sanctified in Life, and Sacred in Person, we had a wonderful Opinion of him; but hearing that he being a Roman Catholick Prelate, had join'd with a Heretick Prince to depose his Roman Catholick Master; it appear'd his Politick Interest had got Possession of his Religious; and so we laid him by as an Hermaphrodite in Religion, and made a Trip to *Moscovy*.

The Czar of *Moscovy*, we were told, was a Furious Christian, and we did not know but he might have

have something of this Divine Quality in him; but when we examined things, and found him executing two or three thousand People in a Day, putting whole Families to Death for the Offences of one of the Blood; we knew Religion too well, to look any longer for her in Tyranny and Barbarity, and so we found our Labour in vain there too.

The late Duke of *Holstein*, had been so Rakish with the *Swede*, and made such loud Clamours at the *Dane*, that we Despair'd of finding this Royal Religion in those Parts; it had been entertain'd a great while by the Young King of *Sweden's* Father, *Charles* the Eleventh; but he being Dead, it fled from the Clime, for fear of being frozen to Death, before this young Hero was at Leisure for it.

We considered, *France* is a Kingdom, in which much of this Matter had been talk'd of: We examin'd the Crown'd Legend back to *Henry* the Third; he was a most Zealous Prince, and exceeding Pious; but the barbarous Murther of the Duke of *Guise*, blotted him quite out of our Roll.

Henry the Fourth, encourag'd us to find it in his Story; he having been a Champion for his Religion, and maintained a Bloody War for Seventeen Years, against almost all the Power of *France* and *Spain*; but when at last he was put to the Tryal, he shew'd the World, he fought for the Crown, and not for the Religion, for he Denied the last, to enjoy the first.

Lewis the Thirteenth, Gave us to understand, he had more Zeal than Religion; and at first view of his History, bid us not trouble our heads with it, for he was not the Man.

The present King of *France*, bids exceeding Fair, for the most Religious Prince in the World: It innumerable Reliques, which hang about every part of his Body, if alighting out of his Coach and Kneeling down in the Dirt, in the very High way, while the
Blessed

Blessed Host is carried by, with *Infinite Te Deums at Nostre-Dame*; and thanking God for more Victories than ever he gave him, will distinguish a Monarch to be a Man of Religion, this is He.

What, tho' the Blood of Thousands of Towns and Villages, whose Inhabitants have been murdered in his Sight, are a Pretence for some People to lessen his Immortal Character; these are the Effects of War, which his Enemies have forced him to, by presuming to check the Current of his Conquests, and his just pursuit of Glory.

What, tho' 'tis pretended he has Unjustly Dispossest the Princes of *Lorraine*, and the *Spaniard* in *Burgogne*; what, tho' he invaded the *Dutch* in Seventy two, and over-run their whole Country, without Declaring War; what, tho' he Bombarded *Genoa*, and laid the most Glorious Palaces of the *Sensors* in Ashes; all these are but necessary Corrections of those petty Neighbouring Princes, who justly deserved it for Disobeying the Commands of the Greatest Prince in the World.

What, tho' he has Dissolv'd the Edict of *Nants*, and Banish'd Three Hundred Thousand of his Protestant Subjects; this is but a farther Confirmation of of his Steadiness and Zeal for the Church, and consequently of his being Master of Religion; and since no Faith is to be kept with Hereticks, who shall blame him for using his Protestant Subjects as he did, Zeal for Religion might move him to that: Besides, being an Absolute Monarch, and having the same Right to his People, as a Farmer has to his Cattel, shall any one ask him what he does with his own; if any one ask such a Foolish Question, 'tis a Sign they do not know what belongs to Arbitrary Power.

All these Things had never Diverted us from our fixing this Royal Quality with this Heroick King, had he not lately Disoblig'd us in breaking the Treas-

ty of Partition; solemnly Made, Ratified and Exchang'd, and in seizing the Monarchy of *Spain*, which we can no way Reconcile to the Test of his most Illustrious Character.

The Duke of *Savoy* came next in Vew, for though he is not a King, he wou'd be one; and rather than not be call'd a King, is content with the empty Title, without a Kingdom, and he call'd King of *Jerusalem*; which, as the *French* Man said, is to be his, *when he can catch*.

There's a Prodigious Face of Religion, on all this Prince's Behaviour; and take him as a Man, I hardly find such another in a Station so high; Virtue seems to be mixt with Galantry, throughout all the Concerns of his Court, and they are the best Regulated Household in *Europe*; Religion has a peculiar Interest in his Family; and in short, had we never seen him in the Field, he had pass'd for a very Religious Prince.

But, when we came into his Cabinet, and found him Tracing the Steps of his Subtil Progenitor, *Charles Emanuel*; when we found he first broke his Faith with the Confederacy, afterwards with the *French*, married his Daughter to a King, and then refus'd her the Title of a Queen; when we found him to Day persecuting his Subjects of the Valleys, to Morrow haranguing them as his faithful Friends, and putting Arms into their Hands.

In short, when we found him False and Fickle, we concluded the Princes of *Europe* were to blame to be cheated twice, but they must be mad that venture him the third Time; in short, we found 'twas to no purpose, to continue the Search of Religion among Politicks and Intrigues; and that whatever that Prince may do in advancing his Royal Character, 'tis past doubt, that he'll never much improve his Religious; he may make himself to be own'd for a King, sooner than he will ever pass with us for a Christian, and so we turn'd our Backs upon him.

We were at some loss now, where to carry on the Search; *Europe* was found so barren of this Royal Quality, that we had some thought of going over into *Asia*, and look for it among the *Turks*, but we altered that rash Resolution, and turn'd about to look into *Spain*.

Here we found two Kings, but both Young, and having shown very little of their Piety in the World, we left them to fight it out. Not doubting but he will be the most Religious King that keeps the Crown longest, because Success sanctifies all the Frauds of Life.

We only wish, neither the *French* on one Hand nor the *English* or *Dutch* on the other Hand, would concern themselves in the Quarrel, but leave that War for the Diversion of *Europe*, to be carried on by those Two Warlike Nations, the *Spaniards*, and the *Portuguese*: Never such a Farce was Acted on the Stage of the World, as would be there; as to Fighting, Swaggering, Running away, &c.

Portugal came next in our Thoughts, and a great deal of the show of Religion and Piety has been seen in the Palace of the Court at *Lisbon*; but when we come to Deposing of Brothers, and going to Bed to their Wives; taking the Crown from the King's Head and then lying with his Wife, we never examine the Circumstances; but as to *Religion-Royal*, we found it would never do.

At last, we came to D——, K—— C—— the First, presented himself the likeliest Object; for if a Man can give a greater Demonstration of his Love to Religion, than Dying for the Church, we are mistaken; and therefore we cannot forbear affirming, that certainly we have found the first of the sort at home.

An Ill Natur'd *Calves Head Dissenter*, stept in, and objected Three Things; the Book of Sports, Executing *L. Strafford* against his Conscience, and taking a Prayer

out of the Romance call'd _____ and putting it
into his Book of *Eikon Basiliké*.

As to the first and the last, they appear to be none
of his Actions, the One put out by *A. B. L.* and the
other put in by _____ and as to the Case of the
Lord *Strafford*, he publickly Repented of it.

Great Claim has been put in for this Matter, on be-
half of the Two Crown'd Sons of the last Mention'd
_____ce.

As to the first, If above Fifty B----ds with Innume-
rable Instances of Lewdness; if pretending all his
Days to be a Protestant, and at the same time being a
supposed P-----; if these things will not bar him from
the Claim to Religion, he shall have my Vote.

His Brother without doubt, has a much better
Claim, and there is no question, but when the Hun-
dred Years are Compleat, shall receive a Badge of
Apostasy from *Rome*; mean time, this must be own'd,
let his real Religion be what it will, he Suffer'd as
much for it as any Man of his Character in the World,
but his Memory won't go down with the *English*;
and if I shou'd say, he was the Man, no Body would
believe me.

If any Man Charge this as a Banter on Crown'd-
heads, and on Religion, I tell 'em they are Mistaken;
and as there is too much Matter of Fact in the Histo-
ry of it, so I must tell them, 'tis less than a just Re-
turn to those hot Mouth'd Gentlemen, who have be-
stow'd a Plentiful storm of their Wit, as they call it
upon a Manual call'd, A Collection of Prayers, used
by King *William*,

I know nothing, but the general Scandal on the
Religion of Princes, which can be a Handle for these
Gentlemens Railery; and because, perhaps few of
the Kings of *Europe*, ever troubl'd themselves with
Private Devotion, therefore the late King must be so
too.

Princes

Princes perform the Duties of Religion, as a Matter of State, and common Court-Ceremony appoints the Chaplains in Ordinary to attend at their Season; the Hours of Prayer, are Regulated as the Hours of Play, and the Clerk of the Closet has his Work also; these are handsom General ways of treating God Almighty Civilly, and the Prince vouchsafes to be present, as often as he pleases; and we are very willing to cry up the Devotion and Piety of those that do so.

But as for Closet Secret Devotion, Private Serious Prayer, Hearty Application to the God and Maker of us all, committing all to his Conduct, seeking the Face of the Almighty, his Favour, Protection, Counsel and Blessing; we Challenge History of Times past, or Experience of Time within Memory, to match the Instance before us.

As to the Matter of Fact, which some have the Impudence to Question, I appeal to the Testimony given by the late Reverend and Learned Prelate Dr. Tillotson, late L. A. B. of Canterbury; which Testimony, as I have had the Honour to hear him Express, for there are many living Witnesses of it.

I set this in the Front of the Debate, because, even those who are willing to believe the best of his late Majesty, and would be glad to have it true, are yet forward to ask, of the Book of Prayers Publish'd in his Majesties Name, *Do you really believe the King made use of them.*

I confess, the Novelty of the thing, the rarity of a Praying Prince, may make the Question the more Excusable.

But I proceed to consider, his late Majesty in his Solitudes, and to Examine, what Authority we have to believe, that these Prayers Publish'd as his, are Genuine.

First, I affirm the late Dr. Tillotson, has often Express'd himself of his Majesty, thus, That he was a

very

very Devout Person, and a constant Observer of Religious Duties, both in Publick and Private.

Secondly, I Appeal to his Lordship, the Bishop of *Norwich*, and to his Preface to this Manual; wherein he gives an Account of the constant Solemnity his Majesty observ'd, in the Receiving the Sacrament, and the extraordinary time of Preparation, which he Separated for himself, from the most pressing Affairs, even in the very Camp; which I give you in his Lordships Words, thus; here is plainly the Picture of a Serious and Devout Christian King, and the Authority of a Christian Bishop to confirm it.

THE
P R E F A C E
TO THE
P R A Y E R S.

“ **T**Hese Prayers are faithfully Printed without the
“ least variation from the Original Papers, which
“ his Majesty constantly used.

“ Although they were admirably suited to the Cir-
“ cumstances of his Majesty’s Royal Condition, yet
“ the matter of them is chose with so much Judg-
“ ment, that they in a manner comprehend all the
“ things for which a Christian Man ought to Pray;
“ and may afford great Assistance to vertuously dispo-
“ sed Persons of all Ranks and Qualities in their Re-
“ ligious Exercises.

“ By their being made Publick, Men will see the
“ high Regard his Majesty had for the Duties of the
“ Christian Religion, and how well he employed him-
“ self at the Lord’s Table; where his Behaviour was
“ ever most Grave, Humble, and Devout.

" As often as his Majesty received the Sacrament,
 " which he never failed to do four times in the Year,
 " he always set a part two or three Days to prepare
 " himself for it.

" When he was in the Camp, if urgent Affairs put
 " him by the Seasons he usually allotted for his Prepa-
 " ration; he ordered the Sacrament to be deferr'd till
 " the Lord's Day following, that he might have Op-
 " portunity to fit himself worthily to partake of those
 " Holy Mysteries.

" There is also very good Reason to believe, that he
 " made use of some of these Prayers, every Morning
 " and Evening, when he retir'd into his Closet to Pray;
 " in which daily Devotions, they, who had the Ho-
 " nour to attend his Person, well knew, that he was
 " most Constant and Regular.

" It is therefore hoped, that some Right hereby
 " will be done to the Sacred Memory of that excel-
 " lent Prince, who was the Glorious Instrument of
 " preserving the pure Religion, the Ancient Laws,
 " and known Liberties of this Kingdom.

" Which Invaluable Blessings, he hath also perpe-
 " tuated to us by establishing the Succession of the
 " Crown in the Protestant Line, and leaving the im-
 " mediate Possession thereof to her present Majesty,
 " our most Gracious Sovereign Queen A N N E.

Here's a living Testimony from an Unbiafs'd Pen,
 and from an Unquestion'd Authority, to the Piety and
 Religion of a Devout Prince.

If his Lordship the Bishop of *Norwich*, had any
 need for me to give the World his Character, to add
 to the Reputation of his Testimony, something might
 be expected that way.

But as he is a Person eminent in Piety, as well as
 in Office, of a known and unsupported Integrity, and
 a Practicer of that very Quality which he applauds in
 his Christian Sovereign, there can lie no Objection a-

H h

gainst

gainst the Truth of it, but what will be a Satyr upon it self.

His Lordships Design too, must be plainly and uprightly, what he professes, viz. to do right to the Sacred Memory of that Excellent Prince, who was the Glorious Instrument of preserving the Pure Religion, the Ancient Laws, and the known Liberties of this Kingdom.

This was not a Time for my Lord to expect much from the World, for either preserving the Memory or recommending the Example of King *William*, when so many value themselves upon ill treating him on both Accounts.

My Lord of *Norwich* therefore, stands so much the clearer in that Point, by how much there is no room to imagine, his Design could be any thing else than he expresses.

Thirdly, I appeal to his Mental Attendants, whose Testimony, will still Confirm the particular, as to the Time which his Majesty every Day set apart for Private Devotion; and without breach of Charity, I can say, I do believe few about him spar'd so much time for the Solemn Occasion of Private Prayer, as the King himself.

Fourthly, I Appeal to the Eye-witnesses of his Actions in the Field; and there are Thousands of Gentlemen, who Declare, they never knew him Enter upon any Great Action, but that immediately before he adventur'd himself, he recommended himself to the Divine Protection; as particularly at the great Battle of *Loden*, where the Night before the Battle, his Majesty Lodg'd in his Coach, and in the Morning had his Chaplain call'd into the Coach, to pray with him.

I need not tell the World, with what Undauntedness of Resolution he adventured into the Horrid As-

tion; how Fearless and Unconcern'd, he look'd in the Face of Danger; after having thus prepar'd himself for Death, History is too full of his Prodigious Actions, and the Minds of Men have too great an *Idea* of his Exalted Memory, to require any such Excursion of my Pen. But I must say, I firmly believe, it was the constant preparedness of his Condition, that settled and fix'd his Temper, in a perfect Resignation to the Sovereign Disposal, and caus'd him to be perfectly Hearty and Unconcern'd, in the greatest Danger: Since no Man can be so truly brave, as the Man whose Conscience speaks comfortable things to him, in the Minute of Danger.

After all these particular Instances, I appeal to the Manner of his Death; with what Composure of Mind did he prepare for it; with what Easiness did he talk of himself, and of the Affairs of the Kingdom; with what Freedom did he quit all the great Things of the World; how did he lay down the Scepter as a Burthen, and resign the Crown with a Willingness, too great to be Counterfeited.

We are apt to suspect the Solemnest and most Publick Appearances of Living Devotion; but at the Hour of Death, it's another thing, he that can Dissemble then, is arriv'd to a Degree of hardness, beyond what the worst Enemy could ever suggest of him.

And I wish, some good Pen were admitted to Print, what a certain highly Dignified Prelate, has often been pleas'd to relate, of what pass'd between his late Majesty and himself, in the last Moments of his Life, after his receiving the Sacrament, and during his other Preparations for Death.

'Tis known, his Majesty was not surpriz'd with Death on a sudden, but had some days Notice, and Time and Strength sufficient to declare himself freely, and did so.

The chief End of renewing these Melancholy Parts of his Actions, is to make it appear, that it is not so Improbable a Story, that these Prayers Publish'd by the Bishop of *Norwich*, and said to be used by the late King, were *Genuine*, and were really his own.

The Affirmative, the Bishop of *Norwich*, whose Hand is to the Work, has made solemn; and as Negative can never be proved, I think nothing can desire a greater Confirmation.

Probability Clear, Proof Positive, Circumstances Concurring; he that would not hang a Thief on those Three Heads, ought to be hang'd himself; he that will doubt after these Heads thus clear'd up, will Doubt for ever, and ought to have all Men doubt, both his Honesty and his Understanding.

And after all, what can be the Reason, and who the Persons that make use of them, against the Memory of his Majesty?

First, 'Tis remarkably visible, all that are Enemies to the present Establishment, hate his Memory, vilify his Name, and endeavour to lessen his Glory, and *contra*, generally speaking, all those who reflect on the Memory of King *William*, hate the present Government: Would you have the Character of a High Church-man painted in little, his Prologue is *Prayer*, his Epilogue is *Anathema's* and *Curses*, *Passive Obedience* and the Church is the Introduction, and Railing at King *William* is the Conclusion.

Show me a Pamphlet, a *New Association*, a *Wolf script*. But as the Danger of the Church is the Pretence, Railings, wide Reflections upon King *William* and his Memory, are the Means.

To whose Charge do they lay the horrid Crime of establishing Schism by a Law, and introducing the damnable Act of Toleration? 'Tis all heap'd up to the Reproach of the Memory of King *William*.

Who

Who do they charge with filling the Ecclesiastick Preferments with Enemies to the Church, and putting in Presbyterian Bishops? 'Tis all laid at the Door of King *William*.

'Tis to King *William* they Pretend to owe the turning out their Lawful King, and abjuring his Posterity.

'Tis at King *William*'s door they lay the Crime of a pretended Settlement, and transferring the Nation to another *Dutch* Governour.

'Tis to King *William*'s Charge, they lay the Crime of Acknowledging the Superiority of the Laws to the Kingly Power, debasing the Monarchy, and demolishing the Standard-Cheat of the Church, call'd *Passive Obedience*.

'Tis to King *William*'s Memory, they lay the Blame of a Partition Treaty, whose Conditions, 'twill be well for us, if we can ever come up to.

'Tis to King *William*'s Conduct, they lay the vast Increasing Power of the *French*; whom, *now he is gone*, they have found it so easie a matter to subdue.

'Tis King *William* they call an Usurper, and yet pretend her Majesty is not concern'd in the Matter; as if the Queens Title did not depend upon the Validity of the Revolution.

'Tis to him they lay the subjecting the Divine Authority of Princes to the Bondage of Laws and the Slavery of Parliaments, and making the Majesty of Heaven, *represented in his Vicegerent the King*, stoop to the Supremacy of Original and Collective Power.

'Tis this Man's Memory they curse for depriving them of the sweet Revenues raised out of the Persecuted Dissenters, and the wholsome Advantage of Plundering their Neighbours.

'Tis the hated Memory of King *William* they blame for interrupting the Succession in the Right-Line, and

preventing a general Union of *English* and *French* Principles as well as Power.

In short, All our *French* Wars, our *Dutch* Settlement, our Whiggish Lords, all our Taxes, our Debts and Deficiencies, the Danger of the Church, the terrible Encroachments of Dissenters; it's all King *William*; he was an *Occasional Conformist*, a *Lutheran*, a *Presbyterian*; nay, the Author of this has a rallying Letter sent him from a Clergy-man of the *Church of England*, who calls King *William* a *Papist*, and a *Jacobite*.

'Tis strange to me, they never charg'd him with a Delign to bring in the *French* Army, and restore King *James*.

No wonder these Gentlemen won't believe the Prayers we speak of, were ever made use of by him; if he is as certainly us'd those Prayers as they constantly pray'd for his Confusion, they are certainly genuine.

I look on it as a singular Providence, that these Prayers came usher'd into the World under the Patronage of so Reverend a Hand; after whose Name put to the Introduction, the Authentick Copy can have no Objection.

His Lordship is sufficiently curs'd for giving his *Imprimatur* to the Work, and has already had the Opportunity of hearing himself call'd a Thousand *Presbyterians*, *Whigs*, and *Traitors* to the Church.

Had the Book come out without a Name, it had met with forty Ridiculing Banters in Print before now; it had been call'd a Fanatick Plot, a Sham of the Party; and *J. Tuchin* and *William Fuller*, had been quoted for the Authors: In short, it had been condemn'd to the Hang-man, and all the Dissenters had been baited with putting such a Sham upon the World.

Mr. *L. alias W.* who never swore to this Government, and swears he never will; would ha' made a
 nother

nother *Wolf* *stript* of it, and have call'd it a *New Association*; from whence his stigmatizing Pen would certainly, according to his usual share of Brass, have told the World the Party were plotting to bring King *William* to Life again, and deposing Queen *Anne* to set him up again.

The Voluminous Gentleman is humbly desir'd, the next time he is pleas'd to reflect on the Memory of King *William*, and his Title to the *English* Crown, to let the World know how he can make that out not to be an Invektive, a meer Satyr upon the Queen.

Also, he is desir'd to tell us, how he can have the Face to compliment Her Majesty, and Her sitting on the Throne of her Ancestors, and yet refuse to take the Oaths, and recognize her just Title? And, whether if any Man should let Her Majesty know it, She wou'd not believe he had the Impudence to Banter Her?

As to the Memory of King *William*, it needs no Addition from my Pen; it lives with a profound Esteem in the Mind of every True *English-man*, that has a Value for the Protestant Religion, and the Peace of his Native Country; it lives abroad in the Hearts of all Nations, where he has made good the Saying of our Saviour, *That a Prophet's Honour is not in his own Country.*

I confess, I am at a loss how to imagine, any Protestant can reflect upon King *William*, if a Roman Catholick does not respect his Memory, or did not love his Person; I can neither wonder at it, nor blame them; for I cannot censure any Man for being Faithful to what he professes: But for a *Church of England* Man, who actually join'd in the Revolution, as they in general did for him, to turn upon the King, I would fain ask such Gentlemen, What would they have had?

If they did not join in the Prince's Expedition, they could hardly be Church-men; for the whole Church was in the thing, and King *James* own'd it to be so to the last; and when the Mob took him at *Feverham*, and he saw a Clergy-man in the Crowd, he call'd him to him, and desir'd him to speak to the People to be quiet, and with Tears in his Eyes told him, *Sir, 'Tis the Men of your Coat have brought me to this*; and repeated it twice with great Earnestness and Concern.

Now the Church men being wholly concern'd, I don't say only concern'd but wholly, in bringing in a Foreign Power; and this they carried on till the late King went away. What is it they would have had? I could never see one of their Books or Writings that propos'd a *Medium*; since they did not approve of King *William's* being set up, what would they ha' done?

What is it they would have had? A Protector would never have pleas'd them, the Word would have smelt too rank: I wish they would tell us what Articles, what Conditions would they have made with their Angry Prince, to have restor'd him, and recall'd him, and how would they have oblig'd him to keep them.

Most People who are discontented at the present Condition, can tell, how it might be made better; but these People cannot prescribe a Method, what else at that time they could have done, and how they could have been safe in their Property and Religion.

We demand therefore a Cessation of their Tongue as to *Billingsgate*, and Reproach upon King *William* and the late Revolution, so long at least, as till they tell us what Medium could have supplied the filling up the Throne with the late King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and how Property, Liberty, and the Protestant Religion, could have been secur'd.

If they cannot reply to this, what have they to say to King *William*? And why all this ill Language and reproach upon his Memory, that they will not allow him to be a King, nor a Christian.

As to his Actions in the Field, or on the Throne, they are far from wanting my Pen to defend them; but as to his Personal Piety, his Real Religion, I take the Freedom to affirm, from unquestionable Witness, justifiable Authority, and some little positive Knowledge, He was a Prince of the greatest Piety, Sincerity, and unfeigned Religion, as either History relates, or Memory informs of in the World; and I am not convinc'd, that I need not except any Crown'd Head that ever Reign'd, except, and only except his Royal Consort, and her Glorious Sister.

If he was not a Prince of Religion, let them show me a Prince in the World that ever was! And 'twould take up a large Volume to run back the Parallel to the beginning of History.

I confess, it would too much reproach the *English* Calendar, to ransack our Throne, to find a Prince equal to King *William*; and 'tis a Misfortune, that the Character of our Kings will not bear a Secret History: We have not above two or three Crown'd Heads that *England* can pretend to, before King *William*, whose Character values it self upon that Article, call'd *The Religion of Princes*; it has been so remote from their general Practice, that really it has not been much in the Pretence; and indeed, I have never read over the Scruples King *Henry* the Eighth made, about putting away his Wife *Katharine* of *Spain*, without my Thoughts fill'd with the utmost Contempt both of the Persons and the Times, to hear them call'd Scruples of Conscience; and Bishops, and all sorts of Ecclesiasticks, were summon'd together to satisfy the King's Conscience, a Mission to *Rome*; and an Examination of Matters in the Points of Consanguinity in all the Universities in
Europe

Europe, were carried on with all possible Vigour, and all for the satisfaction of his Majesty's Conscience.

Had some of the States men of that Age, found out ways to have satisfied another importuning Affair in his Majesty's Constitution, they might have taken much less Pains about his Conscience; for if it may be guess'd by the rest of his Conduct, if the After management of that Prince may be the Test of his real Tenderness, no Man in the World shew'd less Concern for Religion, otherwise than it serv'd to cover the Design of his Lust, his Covetousness, or his Tyrannick Temper.

Indeed, we have had so much of this Royal Banter in former Ages in *England*, that a Prince ought to have more Religion in him than ever King had before him, before he can expect the World should believe he has any more Sincerity than his Ancestors.

'Tis confess'd, we owe the present Reformation to the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth; and without troubling the Reader with the Particulars, which he may read in the Bishop of *Salisbury's* History of the Reformation at large, I readily allow, he gave a great stroke to Popery and Idolatry in *England*.

But, what shall we say to the Instrument? God Almighty was pleas'd to show the Sovereignty of his Government and to let us see he can sanctifie the Design, in any Work, without sanctifying the Agent; and had the Abbeyes and Monasteries in *England* been poor and empty Cells, had the Lands, and not the Monks and Priests, been out of the way, had he not had more occasion for the Revenues than the Reformation of the Church; I believe I make no Breach upon my Charity, when I say, that in all probability they had stood to this Day, that is, at least from any disturbance they might have found from the Conscience of that King.

Conscience! What a strange Play thing did that King make of his Conscience!

1. In putting away his Wife after he had liv'd eighteen years with her ; and as often as he had a mind to a New Bed-fellow, putting away or putting to Death several others after her.

2. In destroying the Abbeyes and Monasteries ; which, however we are pleas'd with the matter who are Protestants, in him that was a Papist, could be nothing but a Sacrilegious Robbing the Church, alienating the Charity of the Dead, and Robbing other Men of their Due.

3. In his Cruelty and Thirst of Blood ; who at the same time put to Death Protestants for denying the Real Presence, and Papists for denying to acknowledge his immediate Supremacy.

If King *Henry* the Eighth lop'd off the Branches of Popery, King *Edward* the Sixth laid the Ax to the Root of it ; he gave it the Mortal Wound, and it died under his hand : And 'tis the Glory of our Reformation, that God, who had design'd in his Providence, to build up the Protestant Religion in *England*, tho' he permitted the Devil to contribute to the Destruction of his own Interest, yet he reserv'd the Publick Work for one, in whose young Heart he had planted the Seeds of Early Religion.

What that Prince would have been, if he had liv'd to have shown himself in the World, no body can tell ; but he died early enough to prevent all possible Scandal upon his Morals, and liv'd long enough to show more Sincerity, and more Zeal to Religion, than any Prince that ever sat upon the *English* Throne, or any other Throne in the World.

The peculiar Quality of the Royal Religion we are upon, is express'd very much in the Book we are now in Debate about.

And what is the Title of this Book ? *A Book of Prayers*. When Kings pray, it may well be put in
a Book.

a Book. And 'tis remarkable to all the World, that in all our List of Kings, from the Conquest to King *William*, there is not one word of Prayer recorded, no, not in the most Flattering, Fulsom Histories of their Lives, except of King *Edward* the Sixth and King *William*.

I omit *Eikon Basilike*, and the Martyrdom of King *Charles* the First in this case, because one is liable to Exception; and the other, a Case without Example, which does not reach our Case.

I come now to the Credit of the Book we are upon; for, with those People who are not willing to have this Book genuine, and who have assaulted it with Banter and Ridicule, who will have King *William* have no Religion, because they have little themselves, or because he did not please them; after they have done with their incoherent Raillery, and find it insufficient, then they assault the Book it self.

Bedlam is hardly strong enough to hold them, when they reflect, that this *Damn'd Prayer Book*, as one call'd it, should be Vouch'd by a Bishop. This has hook'd 'em in so, and cramp'd them, that all the Design of making it a Presbyterian Sham, is knock'd on the Head.

They can't run about now, and call it a Whimfie of the Dissenters, to magnifie his Memory. Here is the Church Signature, that Church which his Majesty own'd, conform'd to, protect'd, and would ha' Reform'd, if some, who the Devil employ'd to prevent it, had not always hindred him.

And the Honesty of those Fathers of the Church, who were sensible of his Integrity, strict, and constant Endeavours for their Good, as a Church, is very conspicuous, and deserves this Testimony for their bearing Witness to his Memory, when the Sons of Fury, and Men of Malice, would load him with Reprcach.

Here's the Picture of his Soul; all the Clouds of Envy, all the Smoke and Dust of Slander and Evil-speaking, cannot cover, eclipse, or fully his Character: *Thus he pray'd*, thus he serv'd his Maker, Daily, Weekly, Yearly; thus he Communicated, and thus he Prepar'd himself to do it. And here's the Sacred Testimony given by a Bishop of the Church of *England*, whose Ears have been witness to the Truth of it, and who has Honesty enough left to own it among the Cloud of other Witnesses who are ashamed of the Truth, and show their Malice, by withholding the just Testimony, Honour and Conscience would oblige them to.

'Twould be needless, after his Lordship's Testimony, to subjoin those of Meaner Servants, who attending at his Majesty's Closet, have been Eye-witnesses of his Retirement, and his setting apart a sufficient Time, Morning and Evening, for his Private Devotions; or, of those other Persons, who yet more near to his Majesty, have been often present, and assistant to him in his Performances, less retir'd.

There are above Thirty Living Witnesses who can attest, not only the General Practice of this Immortal Man, but who can also give Witness to the Particulars, that these were the very Prayers his Majesty frequently used; always giving himself such a Just Liberty of Expressing himself, as Dictated to his Tongue from a fervent Spirit, and an Inspir'd Devotion.

But I chuse to stand by the Authentick Testimony, of his Lordship the Bishop of *Norwich*; such Enquirers as are willing to be satisfied, may have full Satisfaction from such of his Majesties Menial Attendants, as are yet alive; and such as are neither willing it should be true, nor resolv'd to believe it if it were: that Attestation of his Lordship, whose Name is fairly affix'd to the Preface, is a sufficient Fortification against all they can pretend to say.

But

But where will Clamour cease? Envy hunts all the Avenues of a Man's Reputation, to Impeach his Character; and when she finds it so well Fortified and Guarded, that she can break in no where, she never fails to raise Dust and Smoke, to blind the Eyes of those that wou'd keep them open to a just Merit.

If these Prayers were us'd by the King, say they, 'twas only a Show of Religion without any Sincerity; for when he came to die, he would not say he died in the Communion of the Church of *England*.

He that can Undertake to say, that when he sees a Man Worshipping God, he is or is not Sincere, must ha' better Eyes than I; God has reserv'd this Knowledge of the Heart wholly to himself.

But the present Subject of our Discourse, his late Glorious Majesty, at his Death; gave convincing Proofs, that he felt the Composure of a calm Conscience; and I know no greater Testimony of a Sincerity in Religion.

As to his dying in the Church of *England*, 'tis plain he died in the Communion of that Church, in that the Blessed Sacrament was Administred to him, by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, not many Hours before his Death; and which he Receiv'd with extraordinary Marks of Devotion.

As to his Answer given to the Question, which he has been so much reproach'd for, he answer'd, He Died a Christian, and in Communion with the Reform'd Protestant Church, according to that Glorious Principle of Charity, which his Majesty always retain'd for all Societies of Sincere Christians, and which, as far as in him lay, he always Promoted and Encourag'd, both by his Commands and his Royal Example.

May the exceeding Candor of his Temper, the Extensiveness of his Charity; and the Healing Principle which on all occasions appear'd in him, be the Pattern for this whole Nation to Imitate.

May all succeeding Princes, who shall sit on the *English* Throne, Acknowledge, Serve, and Pray to their Great Sovereign Maker like him: let him be so far their Pattern, let them show the King and the Christian like him.

And whenever this Nation is blest again with a Praying and Fighting Monarch, may they treat him better, betray him less, and love him more; least Heaven serve them then, as he has done now, and take him from them when they have most need of him.

F I N I S.

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| S — | Seymore, |
| H — C — B — lis | Harcourt, Cutts, Boile, |
| P — or | Prior, |
| 86. P — r D — fet | Prior, Dorset, Toland, Mo- |
| To — and Moh — n | hun. |
| 87. Sir T — | Sir Tho. Cook, |
| 88. T — n | Torrington, |
| 93. P — m | Pe — hum |
| 99. Lord of L — | Lord of London, |
| L — p | Lordship, |
| 100. Musgr — s Dor — t | Musgrove, Dorset, Ox- |
| Oxf — d | ford, |
| 101. D — shire Orm — d | Devonshire, Ormond, Pear, |
| P — D — | Duke, |
| | 105. W — ly |

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105. W — ly Black — re Wefly, Dr. Blackmore,
107. M — n Morgan, Sir Cha. Duncomb,
Miss.

In the Spanish Descent.

119. — the Nuns Kiss the Nuns,
123. W — s Whores.

In the Stock-Jobbing Election, &c.

171. A M — — Arthur Moor,
172. G — — s Guineas,
263. Sir C — — s and Sir Sir Francis Child and Sir
L . . . s signify'd here R. Hoar,
273. D — — l Devil,
276. P — — t Parliament,

In the Test of the Church of England's Loyalty.

404. Dr. P — — Dr. Pellin,
412. B — — ge S — — k Beverige, Sherlock,
419. E S B S J B Mr. Sir Ed. Seymour, Sir Barth.
H — — y Sir C — — r Shower, Sir John Bolles,
M — — ve Mr. Harvy, Sir Christ.
Musgrove.

In the shortest way, &c.

426. Cl — — s Clouts,

A KEY to the second VOL.

In the New Discovery, &c.

Page 13.	T — m	Mighty Tom
	Sir Wm —	Sir Wm Prichard Ld Mayor,
14.	Sir Peter	Sir Peter Rich, Sheriff and
		Chamberlain,
	Common C — il	Common Council,
20.	Sir Will	Sir William Dobson,
21.	Sir Ralph	Sir Ralph Box,
	Cousin Will	old Sir William Withers,
22.	Bed — d	Sir Robert Bedingfield,
	Sir S — n Sir Wm	Sir Simon Lewis, Sir Wm.
	W — m	Williams.

In the more Reformation.

38.	G —	Gildon
39.	S — S — Strephon	Seaton Seaton Rochester,
41.	D — ds K — s	These had no particular Per-
		sons, but put in to intro-
		duce the Characters.
59.	B — s P — il	Dr. Blackburn, Powell,
60.	L — — s —	Lovel, Lovel, Lovel,
61.	S —	Simpson,
63.	H —	How Mr. How visited Whit-
		ney the Highway man,
		when he declin'd praying
		for the Author when in
		his Trouble.

In the Elegy.

71.	T —	Truth,
72.	G — n	Graydon, 76. D — me

76. D — men
S —
77. M —
78. G — G —
D —
79. S — and T —
D — M —
L and W
- B — S —
80. M —
81. S —
84. P — s C — rs
89. T — y L —
93. Q — n
95. H —
96. A — l
- Draymen,
Stephen, who made his Father drive his Coach, empty his house of Office, &c.
Micklethwait,
Sir Sam. Garrard, Ditto.
Drünken,
Smart, Tilly, no Body; Montagu,
Lewis, Wright, Rochester, and Dee,
Ball, Scall,
Moore, a Clergyman in the Country, who till he knew the meaning of the shortest way, applauded it; but then condemn'd it.
Stubbs,
Peers, Courtiers,
Tyranny, Lye,
Queen,
J. How,
Afgill.

In the Hymn to the Pillory

103. L — s
104. S — l
106. Or — d's
107. Or — d's
109. A — ll A — ll A — ll
111. J — e L — ll
112. She — k's K —
F — G —
115. Wh — re Wh — rs C —
117. M — Sc — ls
- Laws,
Sachevrel,
Ormond's,
Ormond's,
Afgill,
Judge, Lovell,
Sherlocks, Knaves, Fool,
God,
Whore Whores, Crisp,
Men, Scandals.

In the Hymn to Victory.

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 130. Ra ——— s | Rakes, |
| 131. Ro ——— s L ——— s | Rogues, Lords, Notting- |
| N ——— m | ham, |
| 132. R ——— S ——— | Rochester, Seymour, |
| 133. N ——— S ——— | Nottingham, Seymour, Ro- |
| R ——— | chester, |
| 134. F ——— s S ——— r | Finches, Seymour. |

In the Pacificator.

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|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 155. G ——— lle | Granville, |
| 157. C ——— r C ——— r M ——— n | Colier, Colier, Milburn, |
| 158. D ——— M ——— | Dryden, Montague, Nor- |
| N ——— | manby, |
| R ——— H ——— O ——— | Ruffel, Herbert, Orford, |
| T ——— | Torrington. |
| 159. D ——— s C ——— e D ——— n | Dennis, Congreve, Dryden, |
| H ——— s M ——— x | Hopkins, Motteaux, |
| D ——— y C ——— s | Durfey, Colier, |
| 160. T ——— n T ——— n G ——— h | Tonson, Tonson, Garth, |
| 161. G ——— h N o k o r G ——— h | Garth, Blackmore, Garth, |
| D ——— n C ——— e A ——— n | Dryden, Congreve, Addison, |
| S ——— s | Sanders, |
| D ——— y | Durfey, |
| 162. D ——— n C ——— e H ——— s | Dryden, Congreve, Hughes, |
| D ——— s D ——— y T ——— | Dennis, Durfey, Tuchin, |
| M ——— x | Motteaux, |
| B ——— r W ——— y P ——— s | Brewer, Wessly, Pettys, |
| 163. T ——— e B ——— y T ——— n | Tate, Brady, Trahern, |
| G ——— n T o m B ——— n | Gildon, Tom Brown, |
| D ——— t | Davenant, |
| D ——— n | Dryden, |
| D ——— D ——— M ——— | Dorset, Dorset, Mountague, |
| | 166. D ——— |

166. D — P — A — Devil, Parliament, Ar — se,
 167. D — C — h D — y Dryden, Creech, Durfey,
 T — e Tate,
 P — r R — ff Prior, Raliff, Wicher-
 W — ly,
 C — e — F — Congreve, Foe,
 W — ly M — n Wessly, Milburn,
 168. D — s M — x M — n Dennis, Motteux, Milburn.

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 183. M — n D — s L — Milburn, Duns, Lye, L. G-
 L — ly,
 184. B — — — ly B — Brumly, Bill.

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 274. S — ly Seely, Muster-Master of
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279. S ——— rel Sa — l Sacherrel, Ditto.

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302. Sa ——— l	Sachevrel,
304. Sa ——— l	Ditto.
310. Dr. S ———	Ditto.
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316. Sir H M ———	Sir Humphry Mackworth

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